United Nations S/PV.3349

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3349th Meeting

Monday, 14 March 1994, 8.45 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(*France*)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Fujita
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Plumbly
	United States of America	Mr. Grey

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

94-85282 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 8.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 900 (1994). That report is contained in document S/1994/291.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council also to document S/1994/293, which contains the text of a letter dated 11 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council remains gravely concerned at the continuing hostilities in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It especially deplores the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Maglaj area and the threat it poses to the survival of the remaining civilian population. It notes that this intolerable situation has been perpetuated by the intensity of the nine-month siege of the town, for which the Bosnian Serb party is primarily responsible.

"The Security Council strongly condemns the indiscriminate shelling by the Bosnian Serb party of the civilian population of Maglaj, which has resulted in heavy casualties, loss of life and material destruction.

"The Security Council notes with particular concern reports of the recurrent obstruction and looting of humanitarian aid convoys destined for the civilian population of Maglaj, including the most recent incident which took place on 10 March 1994, in which six aid trucks were prevented from reaching the town. It is appalled that not one convoy has reached the town since 25 October 1993. The Council notes that the civilian population has been totally dependent on airdrops and commends those who have provided these vital missions. The Council demands that the Bosnian Serb party and the Bosnian Croat party allow forthwith and without conditions passage to all humanitarian convoys, and the immediate evacuation of those in need of urgent medical attention. The Council also demands that the siege of Maglaj be ended immediately.

"The Security Council welcomes the fact that United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) personnel have now obtained access to Maglaj. It demands that the Bosnian Serb party permit unimpeded and continuing access by UNPROFOR to Maglaj.

"The Security Council also condemns recent attacks against the personnel of UNPROFOR as well as of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian organizations. It reiterates its demands that all parties ensure the safety and security of UNPROFOR, as well as all other United Nations personnel and those of non-governmental organizations, and their unimpeded freedom of movement throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"The Council affirms its determination to

maintain and build upon the recent positive developments towards peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in this context notes the importance of protecting Maglaj and its civilian population from further hostilities. It will consider the situation in Maglaj further in the context of its examination of the report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/291) pursuant to its resolution 900 (1994)."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/PRST/11.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3350

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3350th Meeting

Wednesday, 16 March 1994, 6.45 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(*France*)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) (S/1994/282 and Add.1)

94-85288 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 6.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) (S/1994/282 and Add.1)

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), documents S/1994/282 and Addendum 1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/298, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/263, which contains the text of a letter dated 2 March 1994 from the representatives of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and Sao Tome and Principe to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 16 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, which will be issued as document S/1994/299.

The first speaker is the representative of Angola, on whom I now call.

Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola) *(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation)*: Allow me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola and on my own behalf, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month.

We are aware that yours is a hard task, especially at a time when the Security Council is scheduled to address matters as difficult and complex as the conflict which is ravaging my country. But we are confident that, thanks to your diplomatic skills and your personal commitment, this month's proceedings of the Council will be crowned with success.

To your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Roble Olhaye, let me express our appreciation for the positive way he conducted the Council's work.

I should like also to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Angolan Government's gratitude for his dedication to peace and reconciliation in Angola. We express particular gratitude for the tireless efforts of his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Beye, to ensure a lasting solution to the Angolan crisis.

My Government finds the comprehensive report on Angola submitted by the Secretary-General very valuable; it is realistic and reflects the current political and military situation on the ground. We strongly support its recommendations, which are pertinent and give us a broad perspective of the factors that affect the peace and the tranquillity of the Angolan populations.

To the Government of Zambia and particularly to its President, His Excellency Mr. Frederick Chiluba, we reiterate the gratitude of the people of Angola for hosting the peace talks between the Government of Angola and UNITA; we recognize that this is a great contribution to the restoration of peace and stability in Angola.

Approximately three years have passed since the peace agreements were signed in Angola, and almost two years have passed since the first general and democratic elections took place - and there is still no solution to the crisis in which the Angolan nation has been engulfed since UNITA resumed the war. This long and bloody conflict is still going on, without a firm and decisive position by the international community to make UNITA stop its war machine and follow the path of democracy.

This passive stand by the international community seems to be ambiguous: the Angolan conflict is currently the most deadly, the most brutal and the most devastating in the world, and yet the international community's reaction to other crises has been prompt and decisive.

During the last two years the Security Council has adopted 10 resolutions and various declarations on the situation in Angola in which it has set forth mandatory measures, with which UNITA has never complied - instead, defying in an arrogant fashion the authority of this Council. This posture jeopardizes the reputation of this body, which has demonstrated many times that it has adequate mechanisms available for the implementation of its decisions.

It is imperative that the international community use all the means provided by international law to ensure that the Angolan people do not continue to be penalized by the ambitions of an organization and by the obsession with power of its leader, Jonas Savimbi.

UNITA is primarily responsible for the derailment of the peace process in Angola, by its gross violation of the peace accords, by its failure to demobilize its troops, by its continued occupation of several areas where it has kept the local populations in a real kind of captivity, in violation of human rights, by its impeding of the free movement of people and goods, by its withdrawal of its troops from the unified national army, and by its resumption of hostilities after its defeat in the general elections of 1992 - alleging that there had been fraud.

UNITA's behaviour since the resumption of hostilities has demonstrated that that organization is bent on the conquest of power at any price and on forcing the implementation of illegitimate and unfair political formulas unacceptable in any form of democracy. This uncompromising attitude led to the failure of previous rounds of negotiations and is delaying the conclusion of the current talks in Lusaka, where UNITA has been raising ever more obstacles to the conclusion of a final agreement.

Notwithstanding that, the Lusaka talks have already yielded a few important results, which gives grounds for some hope. A consensus has been reached on the subject of UNITA's withdrawal from the zones under military occupation and the respective living quarters as well as on the establishment of a national police force. A consensus has also been reached on the general principles for national reconciliation.

Discussions are going on about the specific principles for national reconciliation and the future mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) and of the three observer countries in the Angolan peace process - the United States, Russia and Portugal.

However, there is still a long way to go before the Angolan crisis is completely resolved. The determining factor will be the support which the international community, and the United Nations in particular, provides to pave the way for the conclusion of the implementation of the Bicesse Accords and for the complete democratization of the country.

The results obtained so far in Lusaka are the product of, on the one hand, the flexible approach adopted by the Government, and, on the other, the international pressure upon UNITA, particularly through the imposition by the Security Council of a first package of sanctions as well as the threat of other restrictive measures if UNITA persists in its posture of favouring the war.

The Angolan Government has always demonstrated a deep commitment to the restoration of peace, to national reconciliation and to the democratization of the country. That has been proved by its fulfilment of the peace agreements for Angola and of all the elements of the Angolan peace process and by the flexibility it has always shown in all the rounds of negotiations with UNITA, notwithstanding UNITA's gross violations of all the agreements entered into, particularly the Bicesse Accords and the Angola Constitution, and its resort to illegitimate and unconstitutional means to overthrow democratically elected institutions by violence.

My Government often reiterates its willingness to broaden UNITA's participation, in conditions of peace, in the government and in all other sectors of national life. My Government has shown its willingness to implement the necessary conditions for true national reconciliation. Accordingly, we recently presented to UNITA in Lusaka an offer in which we provided for four ministerial portfolios and five deputy ministries, including defence, at the

central, provincial and local government levels, and in which we also included the assignment of UNITA staff to foreign-affairs positions in embassies and missions.

But, unfortunately, UNITA responded to that offer with an unrealistic proposal, whose objective is power-sharing, asking to head the provincial governments of the central, southern and south-eastern areas - Huambo, Bié and Kuando Kubango - and to head various key ministries.

If implemented, those absurd demands for equal power-sharing would cast a shadow over the Angolan democratic process and over the elections. It would create a unique situation, setting a precedent that would have tragic political consequences for the country and for the entire region, especially for the new democracies, by encouraging the losers to wage war to achieve a similar solution.

Hence, it is imperative for the international community, and the Security Council in particular, to bring UNITA to its senses and continue to pressure that organization to accept the Angolan Government's gesture of good faith and move towards the speedy conclusion of an agreement in Lusaka, and to give up its double game of appearing to be ready to sit down for talks while actually intensifying its military offensive.

Indeed, as the Lusaka talks continue, UNITA is increasing its military pressure and intensifying its armed attacks all over the country, especially in the central region, in an attempt to strengthen its bargaining position and obtain concessions from the Government. Let me recall some instances of UNITA's offensive military operations in recent days: intensive shelling of the city of Kuito, in Bié province, and, since 5 February, attempts to take the city by force; since 12 February, intensive shelling of the city, airport and outskirts of Malange; and movements of troops and heavy weapons in Cabinda province in northern Angola. There are many other examples I shall not cite today.

All this shows that UNITA's alleged willingness to seek a peaceful, negotiated outcome of the Angolan conflict and the so-called unilateral cease-fire it announced last September are merely intended to conceal its militaristic purposes and to avoid the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council.

The Angolan Government cannot stand idly by in the face of the belligerence of UNITA, which continues to ravage the country and which to date has caused the death of some 100,000 civilians, the displacement of some 3 million refugees, and the destruction of a major part of our economic and social infrastructure; it continues to cause a thousand deaths a day. At stake are the safety of the Angolan people and the Government's responsibility towards the nation.

We want to alert international public opinion to the threat that UNITA's attitude poses to the current talks in Lusaka, talks that are a beacon of hope for peace and reconciliation, which is why my Government has repeatedly stated its determination to continue until a final solution to the conflict is found. The Angolan Government continues to believe that negotiations are the only viable way to resolve the crisis affecting my country, provided that the Bicesse Accords, the Abidjan understandings and all relevant Security Council resolutions are respected.

Nevertheless, the Angolan Government believes that the time has come to consider a second package of sanctions under paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) since UNITA has not shown that it is serious and that it has the political will to resolve the conflict - a conflict that it initiated and continues to fuel - but, rather, is engaging in delaying tactics as it attempts to strengthen its position in the military theatre of operations.

It is important to stress that it might be important for the Security Council now to set a deadline for the conclusion of negotiations to prevent them from dragging on indefinitely as a result of the many subterfuges UNITA may employ.

UNITA's armed operations are made possible only by continued military support from conservative circles in South Africa and from the neighbouring Republic of Zaire, in clear and open violation of the embargo imposed by the Security Council. The territory of Zaire continues to be a transit point for South African assistance and a base from which UNITA's rebel forces launch their armed operations against Angolan territory. We therefore strongly appeal to the Security Council to bolster its supervisory and monitoring machinery and to adopt effective measures to impede the flow of arms and other means used by UNITA to make war.

The war which has devastated my country has caused a serious deterioration in the already precarious social conditions of our people. The shipment and distribution of humanitarian aid by the United Nations and by non-governmental organizations has been systematically obstructed by UNITA, which regularly targets World Food

Programme aircraft and attacks trains carrying goods for the needy population. This has caused the suspension of deliveries to many parts of the country where people continue to die of hunger and a lack of medical attention.

I take this opportunity on behalf of the Angolan Government to express our thanks for the generous help to our needy people from the international community, in particular by the World Food Programme and other specialized agencies, by non-governmental organizations and by the Governments of Japan and the United Kingdom. I reiterate the need for an urgent answer to the United Nations appeal made on 28 Feburary for $179 million in emergency assistance to the Angolan people.

The Angolan Government remains firmly determined to do everything in its power to restore peace. But it will not accept the principle of an equal division of power in Angola, for this would betray the will of the electors and make a hollow mockery of the young Angolan democracy.

I conclude by commending the efforts of the members of the Security Council in arriving at the draft resolution before them today. As we praise that draft resolution, my delegation expresses the wish that its contents may correspond with the realities facing the Angolan people.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Angola for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* My delegation was most happy, Sir, to see you assume the presidency of the Council for this month. Your experience and diplomatic skill, and your country's unswerving commitment to the promotion of international peace and security, guarantee the success of the Council's work under your wise leadership.

I want also to express our sincere congratulations and well deserved tribute to Ambassador Olhaye of Djibouti for the remarkable and admirable way in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

My delegation is grateful for the report of the Secretary-General, and we hail his efforts, in conjunction with his Special Representative and the countries of the region, to help the parties move the peace process forward and resolve the Angolan crisis through negotiations in the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. I wish in that connection to recall that those negotiations have reached a critical phase with respect to the scope and nature of the items on the agenda of the talks.

It is vital to do everything to ensure that the ongoing process leads to a comprehensive peace agreement; this requires a complete cessation of hostilities to create a climate of trust that can give rise to the decisive impetus needed to overcome all the obstacles.

Apart from the will of the parties to end the hostilities and show the utmost restraint, improving the military situation on the ground also requires that the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) be able to monitor the situation.

In view of its limited numbers, we believe that current requirements justify not only renewing the mandate of UNAVEM II but also expanding it, increasing its strengthen, as the Secretary-General has indicated, to the previous level. Strengthen UNAVEM II at this stage would also be likely to improve the delivery of emergency humanitarian assistance.

Our concern for the success of the peace process prompts us to congratulate the Secretary-General on the preparations and urgent planning activities he has undertaken to establish an appropriate United Nations presence in Angola once an overall peace settlement has been concluded.

My delegation believes that any lasting solution to the Angolan conflict requires the implementation of the peace agreements already signed and the honouring of the results of the free elections held on 30 September 1992 under United Nations auspices. It is within that well-defined political framework that the Lusaka talks should be viewed. The talks must lead to a comprehensive peace settlement aimed at national reconciliation, which is indispensable for the reconstruction of Angola, a brotherly country that has been destroyed by a deadly war that has lasted far too long.

Progress in the current negotiations and a breakthrough in the peace process under way depend, however, on the commitment and good will of the parties. Any failure in this common undertaking would have serious consequences and could not be ignored by the international community. In this context, we fully subscribe to the guidelines in paragraphs 9 and 10 of the draft resolution, which reaffirm the obligation of all States fully to respect the embargo imposed against UNITA by resolution 864 (1993) and the Council's readiness to consider additional measures, in the light of a recommendation by the Secretary-General, in view of developments in the situation.

The message sent by the Council at this stage seems to us an appropriate one, and my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation commends the Secretary-General's report. We also wish to commend the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Angola, Mr. Blondin Beye; the representatives of the three Observer States - the United States, the Russian Federation and Portugal; and the Governments of some of the neighbouring States, in particular Zimbabwe and Zambia, for their important support for the peace process. We also thank members of the international community, including private and non-governmental organizations, whose assistance has been especially critical in coping with the vast humanitarian and relief needs of the people of Angola.

We are delighted that the parties in Angola adopted a mediation document on the general principles of national reconciliation on 17 February. We are pleased, too, that despite existing difficulties, both the Government and UNITA have sustained their participation in the Lusaka talks aimed at working out an overall political settlement of the protracted Angolan dispute.

In spite of these positive indications, however, my delegation remains deeply concerned on the political front that several issues critical to the peace process - such as the allocation of high-level posts to UNITA, the conclusion of the electoral process and the establishment of a national administration throughout the country, and, perhaps not least, the building of confidence, trust and good faith between the parties - have not yet been resolved. On the military side, too, despite the relative reduction in combat incidents lately, the situation continues to be most worrisome and, to use the term in the Secretary-General's report, "volatile". Air and ground military activities have intensified in several parts of the country, a situation which has not only seriously overstretched the resources of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), but also casts shadows on the ongoing Lusaka talks. Consequently, the impression is being conveyed that the parties to the conflict seem to be nowhere near exhaustion nor sufficiently disposed to reach an early political settlement of their conflict. In particular, UNITA needs to respond promptly and seriously to the latest offer by the Angolan Government aimed at promoting power-sharing as a means of paving the way to an early conclusion of the peace process in Lusaka. The Council may need to consider establishing a deadline for the conclusion of those talks.

Meanwhile, the humanitarian situation continues to be undermined by the continuation of war and the deliberate obstacles sometimes put in the way of relief workers by one party or the other. Relief stocks available for distribution are being depleted in some cases, and the need for their replenishment is urgent.

The humanitarian needs of the Angolans must be watched very closely to ensure that the agony inflicted on the people by the ravages of war are not exacerbated through deliberate obstructionist activities of the parties in conflict. In this connection, we support the condemnation of all actions that threaten the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance and put at risk the lives of humanitarian relief workers in Angola. We therefore join in the appeal to members of the international community to respond generously to the 1994 revised inter-agency appeal for Angola.

Nigeria believes that the draft resolution is a positive step on the part of the international community to nudge the peace process forward in Angola. We strongly believe that, while the people of Angola must bear the ultimate responsibility for the destiny of their country, the international community has a responsibility to support and encourage them towards the realization of that goal sooner rather than later. It is therefore appropriate to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II, including a readiness in principle to authorize the deployment of additional personnel as soon as agreement is reached between the parties to the conflict.

Finally, my delegation would like to join in urging both the Government of Angola and UNITA to take the

maximum advantage of the opportunity created by their common agreement on the revised text of general principles concerning the question of national reconciliation. We believe that, given the political will and the sustained support of the international community, the Lusaka talks may well hold the key to achieving a peaceful political settlement of the Angolan conflict. We therefore call upon them, and in particular upon UNITA, to choose the path of cooperation with the United Nations to bring the talks to a successful end, because failure by the latter may indeed invite the imposition by this Council of new, effective measures against it.

We are all eager to see the good people of Angola resume normal life after nearly two decades of fruitless and destructive war. We are anxious, as a country which has close historical and fraternal ties with Angola, to see that country, like many other members of the international community, enjoy the relative peace and stability which are so essential to socio-political and economic development.

My delegation therefore supports the draft resolution and intends to vote in favour.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution because we strongly support the continued United Nations presence in Angola, as it contributes to the advancement of the peace process currently under negotiation. The extension of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) to the end of May reflects the international community's endorsement of the ongoing process and its commitment to continue supporting efforts finally to bring peace to that sister nation, to which we Brazilians feel very attached.

This draft resolution places the necessary emphasis on enhancing the chances of making the political settlement an expeditious and successful process. It also seeks to point the way towards a future of peace for this war-torn country, a future based on the recognition that it is the Angolans - the people, the parties and their leadership - who bear the ultimate responsibility for creating the political basis for a viable national reconciliation.

My delegation was very actively involved in the deliberations that resulted in the text of the draft resolution. The Council conducted a thorough and careful review of the relevant aspects of the situation in Angola. It benefited from an informative and thoughtful report presented by the Secretary-General, for which we are grateful.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express our satisfaction at the very commendable efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General himself and by his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, in order to facilitate and promote the peace talks in Lusaka, talks which are indeed crucial for the future of Angola.

I wish to express gratitude to the Government of Zambia also for supporting and hosting those talks. I should like to stress the appreciation of my Government for the role played by the African countries, particularly those in the sub-region, in promoting the Angolan peace process.

My delegation would also like to thank the Permanent Representative of Angola, Ambassador Afonso van Dunem "Mbinda", for his statement, which underlines the need for this Council to take directly into account the views of the Government concerned. We are very grateful to him.

The current assessment of the situation in Angola has certain positive aspects. There has been an improvement in the delivery of much-needed humanitarian assistance, and although the military situation remains volatile, the intensity of hostilities has generally diminished. The peace talks continue to take place in Lusaka.

We recognize and welcome the progress achieved to date, but we are deeply concerned that negotiations appear again to begin to defy the logic of peace and to go against the will of the international community on account of the persistent delays in their successful completion. My Government has consistently maintained that good faith and political will are indispensable prerequisites for true negotiations. We earnestly hope that it will be possible to keep the Lusaka talks on track and to reach soon a satisfactory conclusion.

This morning we received a copy of the letter Mr. José Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the Republic of Angola, sent to the Secretary-General on 15 March last. We note once again the firm commitment of the Government of Angola to the quest for peace and to the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council. This reinforces our conviction that Luanda is unequivocally engaged in the process that will ultimately lead to a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Angola.

In this connection, we continue to encourage the Secretary-General to proceed with the necessary contingency planning and to make his recommendations to the Council as soon as the peace process reaches its final

stages. We support an adequate and continuing United Nations presence to foster peace in Angola.

The prompt and successful conclusion of the Lusaka talks will represent the beginning of a process of reconstruction for the entire country. We very much look forward to the moment when Angola will enter the path of peace, stability and economic and social development. Brazil is confident that we are close to that moment. We remain cautiously optimistic. We hope that a much-needed breakthrough in the peace negotiations is within reach. No party should lose sight of the fact that the grandeur of an entire people is at stake.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): Sir, at the outset I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I have no doubt that your consummate diplomatic skills, vast experience and, of course, your congeniality, will serve the Council well during your stewardship.

My delegation welcomes the customary high-level update of the Secretary-General on the persistently conflicting patterns in Angola, which the draft resolution before us attempts to address. While peace talks continue in Lusaka with some discernible progress, on the ground in Angola fighting continues, and often intensifies, in no less than nine provinces.

As the Secretary-General's report of 9 March 1994 notes, the suspended Lusaka talks, which resumed a few months ago, were welcomed with a sense of optimism. Unfortunately, the delay in achieving a political settlement is providing a cover under which military hostilities continue in an attempt to strengthen negotiating positions by way of the battlefield. That the fighting is so widespread is discouraging, to say the least, and the ramifications of that fact are even more so. Primary among these is the impact on the delivery of desperately-needed humanitarian aid. Although this has improved overall in selected enclaves, cities and provinces, there are again early indications of mounting emergencies, particularly in such cities as Kuito/Bié, Huambo and Malange, where fighting has severely hampered the delivery of aid.

It goes without saying, of course, that this continuation and intensification of fighting has caused more casualties and suffering among the civilian population. As the Secretary-General's report also notes, the sheer breadth of the hostilities has overwhelmed the manpower and resources of UNAVEM II. With only 50 Military Observers, 18 police officers and 11 military medical personnel, there are clearly limits to what the United Nations can do. This does not bode well.

My delegation is also mindful of the fact that, since resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993 comes under Chapter VII of the Charter, all States were to refrain from and prevent the sale and supply of weapons and military equipment, as well as petroleum products, to Angola, except through ports approved by the Government. For this reason, we are alarmed at the level of military resupplying which is taking place in Angola in clear violation of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993). These violations are feeding the fighting and bolstering the ability of everyone, particularly UNITA, to withhold agreement. We feel this may be a matter requiring the Council's attention in more depth should the violations continue at their present levels.

Overall, my delegation notes the continued optimism of the Secretary-General for a negotiated settlement, which would consequently hold implications for us. Should his optimism be justified, he is clearly correct in maintaining that the United Nations must be prepared to act immediately by deploying cease-fire monitors so as to avoid a situation similar to that of Mozambique, where a potentially dangerous period of time elapsed prior to the arrival on the scene of the mandated United Nations observer force. Moreover, in view of the relatively small number of personnel requested, namely, the restoration of UNAVEM to its previous level of 350 military and 126 police observers, we concur with the Secretary-General's request. This number could be raised in the period following the peace agreement as the situation warrants.

At this point in the process, perhaps the most urgent step the Council can take is to stress once again the need for both parties to move with all deliberate speed towards reaching an agreement consistent with the "Acordos de Paz". The continued destruction of the country, the loss of life, the strains imposed on its neighbours, the limitations on the patience and goodwill of the international community and their own future viability are all urgent reasons to hasten this process. According to the Secretary-General's report, the intensity of hostilities has generally diminished in recent weeks. This may provide an opening we cannot afford to let close again.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/298.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from French*): The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 903 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The United States believes that there is nothing more important in Angola than reaching peace. No other objective, no hope for military or political gain, can take precedence over reaching a lasting settlement to Angola's brutal civil war.

We have worked closely in Lusaka with the Secretary-General's Special Representative and our Troika partners, Russia and Portugal, to advance the peace process to the point where an accord is clearly within reach. Now is the moment of opportunity. The parties should choose a political solution, because it is clear from years of killing that there can be no military answer. This has been a war with countless victims, but no victors.

The peace process now under way in Lusaka offers the Government and UNITA the chance to start a new chapter in the life of their country, to begin the process of reconstruction, reconciliation and re-orientation towards democracy. But that chance will not last forever. The United States Government does not accept current efforts to delay essential decisions.

As this resolution clearly demonstrates, the United States is prepared to join the international community to assist in the implementation of a peace accord. To reach an accord, however, Angolans must first demonstrate political will. They will need to demonstrate flexibility in Lusaka and the courage to make peace a reality. It is the earnest hope of the United States that they do so now.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): The resolution which we have just adopted reflects the strong desire of all members of the Council that the negotiations in Lusaka for a comprehensive political settlement in Angola, the establishment of an effective and sustainable cease-fire, and an end to the terrible suffering of the Angolan people be brought to an early and successful conclusion.

We are encouraged that, since the Council last discussed Angola, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has been able to report further progress in Lusaka and we wish to pay tribute to his determination, patience and skill in chairing the negotiations. We also pay tribute to the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II).

It is not for the international community to try, on its own, to define the details of a settlement between the Government of Angola and UNITA. The settlement must be determined by Angolans, with the assistance of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. That is the only way to achieve a settlement which will be viable in the long term.

We do, however, expect any settlement to be based firmly on the Bicesse Accords and to reflect broadly the political reality that in the 1992 legislative elections the MPLA won an overall majority with 54 per cent of the vote and that UNITA secured 34 per cent of the vote. We welcome the readiness of the Government of Angola to agree to UNITA's participation in government.

The key point is that any agreement must be comprehensive and viable. The need for time to achieve this should not be used as an excuse to prolong the Lusaka talks unreasonably. The resolution that the Council has just adopted makes it very clear that members of the Council expect the parties to redouble their efforts to achieve an early solution.

My Government is gravely concerned at the resumption of fighting in Angola since early February. A twin-track approach of negotiating while continuing to engage in offensive military actions is not acceptable. Both parties must heed the Council's demand that they stop, immediately, all offensive military action.

We now look to both parties to fulfil their commitment to a peaceful settlement in Angola. UNITA in particular must be aware of the Council's willingness to envisage further measures if it does not cooperate fully with the negotiating process.

The Council has declared its readiness to consider the expansion of UNAVEM to its previously mandated level if an agreement is reached and the conditions for the deployment of these additional personnel are judged right. But the parties should also be aware that the international community's patience, and its funds, are not limitless.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The Russian Federation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted because it sends a clear signal to the Angolan parties - and first and foremost to UNITA - that they must redouble their efforts at the Lusaka negotiations in order to conclude their work on the remaining items on the agenda and arrive at a peace agreement without delay.

The resolution adopted today reflects the great importance that the Security Council attaches to achieving an end to all military actions and an effective and lasting cease-fire. This is all the more important now that the negotiating process is in its decisive final phase and, as the Secretary-General emphasizes in his report, the negotiations

> "... are proceeding towards the conclusion of a comprehensive peace agreement". (S/1994/282, para. 31)

In this connection, the Russian delegation expresses its satisfaction that the Angolan Government, in a letter dated 15 March from the President of the Republic of Angola, Mr. Eduardo Dos Santos, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, has confirmed its readiness to do everything possible to restore peace.

Nevertheless, the latest news from the Lusaka talks is not reassuring. We are greatly concerned that the UNITA delegation to the talks is once again showing inflexibility on extremely important issues. We consider it inadmissible that UNITA should continue to pursue this kind of obstructionist tactic. The UNITA leadership must take very seriously indeed the Council's readiness, as expressed in the resolution it adopted today, to consider at any time further steps to impose additional measures against UNITA.

Given the crucial and complex nature of the present stage of the negotiations, we believe it important for the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council, during the first few days of next month, a report on the progress of the Lusaka talks so that the Council might take timely action in keeping with the existing situation and, in case UNITA should delay the negotiations, adopt additional sanctions against it.

We are convinced that, despite all the difficulties, the parties must not only continue but expedite their negotiations, without interruption or delay and, above all, with no attempts to strengthen their negotiating positions through the use of force.

Once again, at this most important time for the fate of the Angolan people, we ardently urge the Angolan parties to demonstrate a full measure of restraint, flexibility and political will and to dedicate themselves to the resolute search for a comprehensive, peaceful settlement based on the Bicesse Accords and on the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* My delegation has carefully studied the Secretary-General's report of 9 March and has also followed with interest the latest news provided to members by the Secretariat on the advances made and also the difficulties encountered in the talks between the Government of Angola and UNITA in Lusaka, under United Nations auspices and with the valuable cooperation of the three observer States and of neighbouring countries.

Spain welcomes the Security Council's adoption of resolution 903 (1994) extending the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) until 31 May 1994 and declaring the Council's readiness to authorize an increase in the strength of UNAVEM II to its previous level once the Secretary-General has reported that the parties have reached an agreement and that the conditions are ripe for deployment. In so doing, the Council is reaffirming the international community's commitment towards Angola while stressing the need for the Lusaka talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA to be speeded up so that they can come to a prompt and positive conclusion.

While we should note the progress made in Lusaka since 15 November last - notably, on general and specific principles concerning military and police matters, and on general principles for national reconciliation - it is none the less true that we do not yet have an overall agreement that would enable us to restart the Angolan peace process effectively. We hope that, in the next few days or weeks, the Security Council will be able to consider this issue again in the light of a definitive agreement, to be reached by the parties within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

On previous occasions Spain has issued appeals for moderation and flexibility by the parties to resolve a conflict that has lasted all too long. Today more than ever, we reiterate that appeal: the parties, and above all UNITA, should abandon their maximalist positions and find common ground for the sake of the future of Angola and the well-being of its population.

The Security Council will follow closely the development of the Lusaka peace talks and will have to weigh implementation of appropriate measures in the light of the results of those talks and of the attitude evinced by each of the parties.

The patience of the international community with regard to the extension of the talks in Lusaka is being put to the test. The resumption and intensification of hostilities throughout a large part of Angola's territory, as described in the report of the Secretary-General, is a very disturbing factor that cannot be viewed as an isolated event. The hostilities should cease as soon as possible, given their implications for the work of the United Nations in the field and their negative consequences upon the civilian population and the supply of humanitarian aid.

The present situation in Angola makes it necessary to stress, as we have been doing with other peace-keeping operations, that the peacemaking work of the United Nations depends, in the final analysis, on the cooperation and will of the parties. My country trusts that the Angolan parties will show that will by taking concrete actions that will soon enable the Security Council to reaffirm its renewed and future commitment towards Angola.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of France.

Since the resumption of talks between the parties on 15 November 1993, France has greeted with satisfaction the progress achieved between the Government of Angola and UNITA on the implementation of the Bicesse agreements.

This success in due in large measure to the decisive action of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Blondin Beye. My Government takes this opportunity to praise his work.

My country also expresses the wish that the talks, which have reached a crucial point, will rapidly be concluded, thus enabling Angola to return to peace and stability.

By voting for this resolution, France wishes once again to support the current negotiations. However, it considers that the fate of Angola is in the hands of the Angolans, who must prove that they are firmly decided to put an end to almost 20 years of conflict.

By this resolution, the Security Council is affirming that it is ready to participate once again in the building of peace in Angola. It must be made clear, however, that this does not mean that the international community will endlessly support Angola if the efforts made so far do not lead to the national reconciliation of all the Angolans.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There being no further speakers, the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3351

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3351st Meeting
Friday, 18 March 1994, 4 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in the occupied Arab territories

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/222)

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/223)

94-85294 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/222)

Letter dated 25 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/223)

The President *(interpretation from French):* In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings of the Council, I invite the representative of Israel to take a place at the Council table; I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Greece, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Mauritania, Qatar, Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine and the United Arab Emirates to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yaacobi (Israel) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan), Mr. Lamamra (Algeria), Mr. Al-Faihani (Bahrain), Mr. Rahman (Bangladesh), Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Mr. Elaraby (Egypt), Mr. Exarchos (Greece), Mr. Soegarda (Indonesia), Mr. Khoshroo (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Hatano (Japan), Mr. Bataineh (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Makkawi (Lebanon), Mr. Elhouderi (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Razali (Malaysia), Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania), Mr. Al-Ni'mah (Qatar), Mr. Yassin (Sudan), Mr. Awad (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia), Mr. Batu (Turkey), Mr. Khandogy (Ukraine) and Mr. Samhan (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/280, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Djibouti, on behalf of the non-aligned members of the Security Council, France, the Russian Federation, Spain and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/1994/242, letter dated 1 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/244, letter dated 1 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Tajikistan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/247, letter dated 2 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/256, letter dated 3 March 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires *a.i.* of the Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/269, letter dated 7 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/275, letter dated 7 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a statement adopted by the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in New York; and S/1994/295, letter dated 14 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to take a decision on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that it is so decided.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A paragraph-by-paragraph vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/280 has been requested. Since I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote paragraph by paragraph.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): My Government has already condemned most vigorously the Hebron massacre. However, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to offer once again our profound condolences to the families and relatives of the innocent victims killed and injured in the 25 February outrage at the Al-Ibrahimi mosque in the occupied town of Hebron. We join all civilized people throughout the world, who condemned in the strongest terms this outrage, this reckless and savage massacre of Palestinian worshippers kneeling in sacred and peaceful prayer during the holy month of Ramadan, in the holiest of places: that of worship.

The delay in the Council's reaction is unfortunate and regrettable. Along with the massacre itself, this will undoubtedly alter for ever the political landscape of the occupied territories. While many have announced the coming death of the peace process, my delegation feels on the contrary that the tragedy has forced us all - Israel, the Palestinians, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the other major players and the Security Council - to confront the real bedrock issues and attitudes, which, if not dealt with expeditiously, could make that prediction a reality. There may, rather, be a desire to make the best of a bad situation.

The attack itself was clearly premeditated and unprovoked, and, if reports of the crime are to be believed, was carried out by one "deranged " gunman able to load and reload his weapon several times over a lengthy period of time. One can only wonder about the unfathomable whereabouts of the Israeli army in a place of such sensitivity. The implications of the army's slow reaction time are indeed unsettling, particularly if subsequent reports by Israeli officers are to be believed, claiming that there were orders not to use all necessary means available to restrain settlers engaged in such acts of violence.

While it is true that this heinous act represents the single largest carnage of Palestinians since the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel in 1967, it is but the latest outburst of bloodletting in a long history of such incidents. Clearly, a large segment of the settler community feels threatened by the spectre of peace with the Palestinians, and as a result has called for violent acts and civil war to subvert the peace process. Having wrapped themselves in a cloak of hatred and violence, these settlers have created a mind-set giving rise to incidents of which the Hebron murder is but one among many.

Unarmed and unprotected against these self-appointed settler vigilantes, and at the same time confronted with the acknowledged stringent treatment of the occupying forces, Palestinians have just reason to feel their lives threatened as individuals and as a people, in a situation offering them little hope or chance of redemption. Given these conditions, the Hebron massacre assumes the aspect of an all too predictable tragedy, surprising only in its magnitude. In fact, the call of the draft resolution before us, for Israel, the occupying Power, to confiscate arms with the aim of preventing illegal acts of violence by Israeli settlers amounts to the minimum the international community could expect. There is a need for a great deal more.

We welcome the initial reaction of the Israeli Government: strong public condemnation and the announced intention of disarming a few selected individual settlers, together with the outlawing of two of the most extreme of the settler organizations. But subsequent events have clearly demonstrated that these measures alone will not significantly reduce tensions or preclude a repetition of such violence at the hands of diehard elements in the settler community, many of whom were seen to dance in the streets and praise the "martyrdom" of the murderer.

Understandably, therefore, Palestinians in the occupied territories have just cause to fear for their safety, in a place where the Government issues guns to one element of the population for "self protection" against another. For many years the Security Council has repeatedly brought into question Israel's behaviour as an occupying Power, under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, particularly with respect to its treatment of Palestinians. That same concern is again expressed in the draft resolution before us.

One result has been to foster an attitude among settlers that they are a law unto themselves, buttressed by a growing fortress mentality which refuses to recognize the march of history and even what is in the best long-term interest of the country to which they have pledged their loyalty. They are clearly a dangerous loose cannon in the cauldron of events in Palestine, and we can only hope that the Israeli authorities will at last respect the draft resolution's call for measures to guarantee the safety and protection of all Palestinian civilians throughout the occupied territories.

For those reasons, perceptible relief was felt around the world with the signing on 13 September 1993 of the historic White House peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, designed to bring self-rule to the Israeli occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Since we had come that far, it was hoped that the spirit of cooperation and the desire for peace were strong enough to overcome any

tendency to nit-pick over details until the accord died - particularly taking into consideration the deadlines for the beginning of the process of handing over security to the Palestinians in December and the conclusion of the process in April 1994.

My delegation is therefore gravely concerned that the issue of control of border-crossing points in the designated self-rule areas has been allowed to stall the negotiations and to prevent the full signature and hand-over expected. The result has been to push many who desire peace and a solution into difficult positions and to allow passions to rise on all sides. Now, with this grotesque crime at the mosque and with a death toll exceeding 60, and still rising, and at least 300 wounded, vigorous condemnation alone by the international community cannot be expected to allay the justifiable fears of innocent Palestinian civilians at this late stage, without an equally vigorous and unambiguous change in the policies of Israel toward its settler community in the occupied territories. As we have said, the Security Council has addressed the issue of Israel's actions in the occupied territories on countless occasions, in resolution after resolution, and there can now be no special dispensation for its continued repudiation with impunity of the fulfilment of its obligations under international law as an occupying Power.

In these circumstances, there is a very compelling reason for an international presence in the occupied territories to assure Palestinians of their safety. The disarmament of the Jewish settlers is surely a legitimate demand of the Palestinians. Restrictions against settlers in some populated areas, if not the outright barring of them, is also essential for the sake of peace and the settlers' own security; this may also include the immediate dismantling of known notorious settlements.

The world has been shocked and horrified by the Hebron massacres and has awaited anxiously the Council's pronouncement of its reaction. Now, after a delay of some three weeks, during which the Council has expended considerable energy in back-and-forth deliberations, advances and retreats, we have before us a draft resolution which my delegation feels is unequal to the enormity of the circumstances. It could have been more assertive, forthright and substantial. Certainly, a quicker, more immediate and timely Council reaction would have reflected the world's indignation and transmitted a far less muddled signal, with a more meaningful impact. Unfortunately, the Council's delayed reaction at this crucial time can only damage its credibility, to say nothing of the peace process and its key players. Nevertheless, we support this draft resolution, which, to all intents and purposes, will have a mandatory effect, like any other resolution adopted by the Security Council.

Finally, the level of tension in the area has been and continues to be a clear danger to international peace and security, and my delegation strongly feels that the international community, and particularly those with a continuing national interest in the region, have a right as well as a duty to express real concern. Peace talks should continue, which is why we welcome the initiative quickly seized by the United States in throwing its enormous weight behind the process. However, these talks must not remain in a vacuum - undeterred and unaffected by the daily events which control the lives of the ordinary Palestinians. This cannot continue to be an internal "tale of two cities" in the occupied territories, with one set of inhabitants functioning under one set of rules and laws, affording them a separate and presumed higher status, while the vast bulk of the Palestinians suffer under repressive practices, reprisals against communities, and arbitrary treatment - all in contravention of recognized norms of international law. As the occupying Power, Israel has the primary, indeed the sole, responsibility to maintain a climate of fairness, legality and security for all inhabitants, so that a spirit of genuine cooperation is engendered and rapid and real progress is made toward implementing the accord on Palestinian self-rule. For the time being, the Israeli Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have the controls in their hands, but if we delay until there is another Hebron in the West Bank, there may be too many drivers at the controls to steer in the direction of real peace.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. Your wide experience and professional skills guarantee the success of our work. My delegation assures you of our fullest cooperation, and we look forward to working closely with you in facing the important and difficult tasks that lie ahead.

Let me also take this opportunity to express our sincere felicitations to your predecessor, Ambassador Olhaye of the Republic of Djibouti, on his remarkable work last month. Without any doubt, he discharged his duties as President for February in the most able and exemplary manner, and with exceptional skills. We wish to congratulate him on a job very well done.

We are gathered here today in this body in order to discuss a very dangerous situation and a horrendous crime which was committed in the Mosque of Ibrahim in the city of Hebron during the early hours of Friday, 25 February 1994, and which resulted in the massacre of nearly 60 and the wounding of between 200 and 300 innocent Palestinian civilians.

My Government has already condemned, and continues to condemn, this hideous and revolting crime that was committed in a sacred place of worship during the holy month of Ramadan, which has special meaning for all Muslims all over the world. I wish to convey our heartfelt condolences to our brothers and sisters, the Palestinian people, and to the bereaved families.

We hope that this incident in itself will not affect the peace process that is currently taking place, which my Government fully supports and which is also considered by the international community as the most appropriate political channel to bring an end to the Middle East crisis, and a lasting solution to it. My delegation takes this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts on this issue and on many others.

What happened on 25 February 1994 has compelled us to question, once again, the role of the Israeli occupying authority in protecting the Palestinians in the occupied Arab territories. The Israeli occupying authority is called upon, more than ever before, to protect the Palestinians in all their lands which have been occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. Therefore, the Security Council should call on the Israeli occupying authority to take immediate and vital measures that will guarantee the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians, in conformity with Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 681 (1990).

We have been looking forward since the perpetration of this horrendous massacre to the assumption by the Security Council of its full responsibility in facing up to this unjustifiable act of aggression by adopting an appropriate resolution that would match the gravity of this incident and would lead to the protection of the rights of the Palestinian people, as well as the Islamic and Christian holy places under illegal occupation. This would pave the way for the achievement of a lasting and comprehensive settlement of this issue on the basis of international norms and all relevant Security Council resolutions issued within the context of the current peace process. Regrettably, due to the sluggish response of the Security Council in issuing a resolution, the numbers of victims have increased to a certain extent, scores of them having been killed by the Israeli aggressors.

In conclusion, my country believes that the contents of the draft resolution under discussion contain the most simple and basic rights necessary for the protection of the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories. In this context, we confirm that the draft resolution which we are about to adopt will have the same mandatory effect as all other resolutions adopted by this Council; we hope that there will be immediate arrangements to protect the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. Therefore, my delegation will vote in favour of this resolution, whether paragraph by paragraph or as a whole.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Oman for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): The Nigerian Government and people join others in condemning the outrageous massacre of Muslims who were worshipping peacefully at the Mosque of Abraham in Hebron, which occurred on Friday, 25 February 1994, during the holy month of Ramadan. By that horrific incident, the international community was confronted once again not only with the horrendous manifestation of hate and of bigotry, but with the challenge of forging a climate of peace and mutual co-existence in the Middle East, which have been so painfully lacking so far. My Government is hard pressed for words to describe the outrage and the sorrow which we share with the families of those who were murdered in cold blood. We hope that the horror and indignation which the incident has understandably evoked will be followed by an appropriate response on the part of the authorities concerned so that such an incident is never again repeated.

My delegation is of the strong belief that the massacre at Hebron was not an isolated event. It was one of so many other tragic occurrences in the scenario of escalating violence which have been perpetrated by extremists in the region to demonstrate their opposition to the march towards peace which both the Israeli Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization courageously and effectively began by signing the historic agreement in September last year. These enemies of peace must not be allowed to succeed. Furthermore, religious extremism of whatever hue or persuasion must stand condemned.

The tragedy of 25 February 1994 must now propel the international community to accelerate its efforts to assist the

peace process in the region. There is no doubt that with the signing of the Israeli-PLO Agreement of September last year, the Middle East crisis entered a new phase: instead of the wider Arab-Israeli wars of the past, we now have localized but highly intensified and dangerous conflicts waged within the borders of the protagonists' countries. The international community should now strive to defuse existing tension between foes and neighbours by pursuing measures which would help to win much-needed confidence and commitment to the peace process.

My delegation believes very strongly that the pursuit of peace through dialogue is the only viable option for the PLO and the Government of Israel. The international community will be failing in its duty if it does not impress upon both parties the wisdom and necessity of this option so that an early agreement can soon be reached by them in implementing the Declaration of Principles signed by both the Government of Israel and the PLO on 13 September 1993.

In conclusion, my delegation believes that it is only fair and just that, as the occupying Power, the Government of Israel has a special responsibility to ensure that the Palestinians are given a greater sense and assurance of their security. The present situation, whereby heavily-armed extremist Israeli settlers live side by side with unarmed Palestinians, is intolerable, and therefore unacceptable. Therefore, the following measures should, in our opinion, be taken immediately, if some of them have not been taken already:

(a) A crack-down on all extremist groups in the occupied territories;

(b) The disarming of the settlers, especially those known to harbour extremist tendencies;

(c) The acceleration of the process of negotiation so that the Israeli-PLO agreement can be finalized without any further delay;

(d) The imposition of United Nations observer or peacekeeping forces in the conflict areas of the occupied territories to monitor human rights observance as well as providing a confidence-building mechanism and a bridge of understanding; and

(e) The speeding-up of the fulfillment of all due processes which will accord to the Palestinian people its legitimate national rights.

Finally, our point of view having thus been expressed, and as a co-sponsor, my delegation will support the adoption of this draft resolution.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Spanish Government has already expressed its profound consternation at the horrible tragedy of 25 February last, which caused the death of some 50 persons and wounded over 100 among Palestinian worshippers who were participating in the prayer ceremony on Ramadan Friday in the Sanctuary of Abraham, Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi, in the Cave of the Patriarchs in the West Bank town of Hebron.

The Spanish Government condemned in the most forceful terms this ruthless act of terrorism, which merits the firm and unanimous repudiation of international public opinion, as did the European Union in its statement of 26 February, as well as in a statement that was made before this Council on 2 March 1994 by the Permanent Representative of Greece on behalf of the European Union and its member States.

While the murder of innocent persons is always a condemnable act, one which is directed against a group of people devoted to prayer in a holy place for the simple fact of their belonging to a different people, a different religion, produces in us a feeling of particular revulsion. There can be no doubt that, whoever may have been responsible for the murder, the massacre that we condemn took place in an atmosphere of violence and fanaticism of tragic resonance.

We have taken good note of the statements made by the Israeli authorities, including President Weizman and Prime Minister Rabin, regretting what occurred, condemning the tragic event and conveying their condolences to the President of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Arafat. We welcome the measures adopted by the Israeli Government in the exercise of its inalienable responsibility to ensure the security and protection of all inhabitants of the occupied territories and, specifically, of Palestinian civilians whose homes and homeland are there. These measures, which constitute a first step in the right direction, must be complemented and must be implemented with all due diligence.

We believe that it is urgently necessary to conduct an impartial and complete investigation in order to clarify where responsibility lies for this attack. We also believe that every necessary step must be taken in order to avoid the recurrence of similar acts. We take note of the decision of the Israeli Government to establish a commission of

investigation, and we will be following its work with interest. It is particularly necessary that effective measures be taken to control all extremist elements among the Israeli settlers in the occupied territories, especially measures aimed at preventing the undue use of weapons.

In this regard, we note with satisfaction the decision of the Government of Israel to declare illegal the Kach and Kahane Chai organizations.

The Government of Spain is convinced that the relaunching of the peace process and the prompt implementation of the Declaration of Principles signed in Washington on 13 September 1993 between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization are the only viable alternatives to violence and confrontation. We believe that only the acceleration and speedy conclusion of the current negotiations, aimed at a prompt Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the area of Jericho and the establishment of Palestinian autonomy will make it possible to put an end to the continuous and alarming deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories. In this regard, we welcome the invitation from the President of the United States to the heads of the Israeli and Palestinian delegations to come to Washington with a view to jump-starting the negotiating process.

In this context, an appeal must be made to the Israeli authorities urgently to take and implement measures to guarantee the safety and protection of the Palestinians in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, in conformity with the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 concerning the protection of civilian populations in occupied areas.

In the present circumstances, we believe that the presence of international observers in the occupied territories is appropriate as an important confidence-building measure to facilitate implementation of the Declaration of Principles. We encourage the parties to reach agreement as soon as possible on the composition and modalities of that temporary international presence, in which the European Union has expressed its readiness to participate, as reflected in the declaration adopted by its Council of Ministers on 7 March, and to which the United Nations might also be able to contribute.

The members of this Council know from experience that every peace process goes through critical moments at which it is necessary to overcome obstacles thrown up by extremists of various types who are determined to impose their fanatical ideas on the majority wishes of a population.

Spain believes that the draft resolution, of which we are co-sponsors, and which the Council is ready to adopt, duly reflects the range of measures that we have outlined, aimed at ensuring the security of the population in the occupied territories and at making it possible for the peace process to resume. The adoption and speedy implementation of this draft resolution is the best response we can offer to an act of terrorism whose ultimate objective was to destroy the process of reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to take this opportunity to stress that, following the appalling massacre of Palestinians at Hebron on 25 February my Government again wishes to join in conveying the deepest condolences and feelings of solidarity to the Palestinian people at this time of pain, anguish and sorrow. My country also wishes again strongly to condemn this criminal act, which took the lives of innocent people at prayer during the month of Ramadan.

This premeditated massacre, planned and carried out by Israeli settlers, is all the more regrettable in that it came at a time when the international community was mobilizing to accelerate the peace process undertaken in the search for a solution to the question of the Middle East, at whose core is the problem of Palestine. We therefore call upon Israel to take effective and urgent measures to put an immediate end to acts of violence against Palestinians in the occupied territories.

It is for this very obvious reason that the draft resolution, which the Council is about to adopt, and the international presence in the occupied territories which it calls for deserve to be acted upon urgently in order to guarantee the conditions of security which this alarming situation demands.

Furthermore, we believe that, as the occupying Power, Israel must fulfil its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 12 August 1949, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. On this basis, Israel must consider disarming the Israeli settlers, with the further aim of implementing all the other relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

My delegation also remains convinced that any lasting solution to the violent situation requires Palestinian autonomy and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the

occupied territories. In this context, we would encourage the parties concerned to make a firm commitment to the peace process through the negotiation process, whose next stage, but for the horrendous event in Hebron, was to begin in Washington on 28 February. At the same time, we exhort the parties to specify the arrangements for implementing the Declaration of Principles signed on 13 September 1993 by the Israeli Government and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

We call upon the international community to spare no effort in support of the peace process and to discourage by all means any barbaric act designed to undermine the climate of security and tranquillity which is vital at this critical stage of the peace process in the Middle East.

I wish particularly to stress that success will depend above all on a constructive attitude, marked by the maximum restraint and a keen sense of responsibility by the parties concerned, both at the negotiating table and through their actions, to promote a genuine determination to abide by commitments they have entered into.

Finally, my delegation fully supports this draft resolution, of which it is a co-sponsor.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* On 25 February a very tragic massacre committed by a Jewish settler occurred in Hebron, in the West Bank, killing and wounding hundreds of innocent Palestinians. The Chinese Government is deeply shocked by this extreme act of terrorism and violence, and expresses its strong condemnation of it. The Chinese delegation wishes to ask the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations to convey its profound condolences and sympathy to the State of Palestine and through it to the bereaved families. We call on the Israeli Government to take all measures necessary to put an end to such atrocities.

This incident has shown once again that with the question of Palestine still unresolved it is very difficult to avoid such atrocities completely, and that there will be no tranquillity and peace in the Middle East. The international community and the parties concerned should recognize the urgency and sensitivity of this question and continue without delay to make tireless efforts to find a comprehensive, fair and reasonable solution to the Palestinian question.

It is the consistent position of the Chinese Government that a political solution to the question of the occupied Arab territories should be sought on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, that the occupied Arab territories should be returned and that the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people should be restored. The Chinese Government will, as always, continue to support the Palestinian people in their just cause for the restoration of their legitimate national rights and will promote the peace process in the Middle East.

The Declaration of Principles signed by the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel last year marks a breakthrough in the Middle East peace process and is an important step towards the harmonious coexistence of the Arab and Jewish nations. This progress is hard-won. The peace process in the Middle East is now at a crucial juncture, and we should not fall short of success for lack of a final effort. We sincerely hope that the parties concerned will practise restraint and adopt a calm and sensible attitude to remove existing obstacles, actively create desirable conditions and speed up their peace talks so as to achieve an early and comprehensive peace, to which the various ethnic communities in the Middle East ardently aspire.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the duties of the President of the Security Council. The skill and wisdom with which you are discharging your responsibilities are attributes of a diplomat of your experience, skill and erudition, which will ensure the success of the work of the Council. My delegation will continue to extend to you its fullest cooperation and support in your very important task.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Roble Olhaye, the Permanent Representative of Djibouti, for the robust and dedicated manner, as well as the helpful and constructive spirit, with which he guided the work of the Council during February.

At the meeting of the Security Council held on 28 February I expressed the sense of shock and outrage of the Government and the people of Pakistan at the massacre of the Palestinians who were at prayer in the Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi Mosque in the town of Al-Khalil - Hebron - in the occupied Palestinian territory. My delegation also urged the Council to take urgent measures to compel the Israeli authorities to punish the culprits and to ensure the safety and security of the Palestinians living in the occupied territories.

Subsequently my delegation has actively participated, in its own capacity and also as the Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference Group in New York, in the negotiations to arrive at a suitable

Security Council resolution in the wake of the 25 February massacre of the Palestinians. These negotiations have led to the preparation of the draft resolution which is finally before us today after many delays. My delegation is honoured to be a co-sponsor of this draft resolution, along with other members of the non-aligned caucus of the Security Council.

We believe that the draft resolution contains a number of important elements, and hope that its implementation will not only help to bring a certain sense of security to the Palestinians living in the occupied territories, but will also serve to bring about a less hostile atmosphere than that which exists at present. An international presence, as envisaged in the draft resolution, will greatly assist in this process.

We also sincerely hope that the passage of the draft resolution will restart the peace process, which has been so cynically and brutally interrupted by the massacre at the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque. We strongly believe that the renewed negotiations, if they are to be meaningful, can no longer proceed on the earlier assumptions and premises. The massacre in Hebron has explosively demonstrated the necessity for a change in outlook and in the pattern and concept of the negotiations. The issue of the illegal Israeli settlements, hitherto consigned to solution at a subsequent stage, is now a subject for immediate consideration.

It is imperative that the negotiations and the measures envisaged under the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993 be undertaken at the earliest possible moment, and that the peace process get under way in a realistic atmosphere which combines flexibility with purposefulness. It is only through a just and durable peace that the people of this war-ravaged region can hope to derive the benefits of their fundamental rights. And it is only through the attainment of such a just peace that the world at large can pay homage to the martyrs of the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The Council will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution paragraph by paragraph.

I shall now put the first preambular paragraph to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The first preambular paragraph has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put the second preambular paragraph to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Against

None

Abstaining:

United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, none against and 1 abstention. The second preambular paragraph has been adopted.

I shall now put the third preambular paragraph to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The third preambular paragraph has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put the fourth preambular paragraph to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The fourth preambular paragraph has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put the fifth preambular paragraph to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The fifth preambular paragraph has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put the sixth preambular paragraph to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Against:

None

Abstaining:

United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, none against and 1 abstention. The sixth preambular paragraph has been adopted.

I shall now put operative paragraph 1 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. Operative paragraph 1 has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put operative paragraph 2 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. Operative paragraph 2 has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put operative paragraph 3 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. Operative paragraph 3 has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put operative paragraph 4 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United

Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. Operative paragraph 4 has been adopted unanimously.

I shall now put operative paragraph 5 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. Operative paragraph 5 has been adopted unanimously.

The Council will now proceed to take a decision on the draft resolution in document S/1994/280 as a whole. It is my understanding that the Council wishes to adopt the draft resolution as a whole without putting it to the vote. If there is no objection, I shall declare the draft resolution adopted.

As I see no objection, it is so decided.

The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 904 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Council members are conscious of the difficult situation that the Middle East now faces. Leaders of courage on both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict have taken the decision to end the decades of bloodshed and make peace. A historic step was taken last 13 September, when Israel and the PLO signed the Declaration of Principles and Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat shook hands. The international community and the United Nations expressed their overwhelming support for this extraordinary act of reconciliation.

Since then, as negotiators have acted in good faith to try to reach agreement on implementation of the Declaration of Principles, extremists on both sides have resorted to violence and terrorism to kill the peace. Thirty-three Israelis have been killed - innocent victims of Palestinian extremists. And on 25 February, in the holy month of Ramadan, in the city of Hebron, more than 30 innocent Palestinians were gunned down by an Israeli extremist settler as they bowed in prayer in the Mosque of Ibrahim.

The world community reacted with revulsion. The Prime Minister of Israel spoke for his nation when he condemned the action, expressed his shame and took swift action to investigate the crime and prevent its recurrence. At the time President Clinton expressed the outrage of the American people at this horrific act of murder, and we join other members of the Council today in condemning the massacre in the strongest possible terms.

My Government is determined not to allow extremists and terrorists to undermine or disrupt the peace process. They are bent on dragging Israelis and Palestinians back into the darkness of unending conflict and bloodshed. We have a collective responsibility to the people of the Middle East and to the international community to prevent them from extinguishing the hope of a normal, peaceful life.

There is only one answer to Hebron. It lies in the call that the Council has issued today to Israel and the PLO to redouble their efforts to bring their negotiations to a prompt conclusion and begin the implementation of their agreement as rapidly as possible. The United States, together with its Russian co-sponsor, stands ready to do all it can to facilitate this objective.

It is precisely to serve and protect the peace process that my Government has - with great reluctance - made the difficult decision to allow this resolution to pass today, despite the existence of some language we find objectionable. For today in Washington my Government has announced several steps that will serve to restart the stalled Middle East peace process. First, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon have agreed to resume bilateral negotiations with Israel in April. Secondly, and of particular importance to the resolution we are discussing today, Israel and the PLO have had intensive discussions at the highest levels. They have finally agreed to convene a senior-level meeting, the timing of which will be announced in the days ahead.

The United States supports the operative paragraphs of the resolution that the Council has just adopted. However, we sought a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on this resolution because we wanted to record our objections to language introduced there. Had this language appeared in

the operative paragraphs of the resolution, let me be clear: we would have exercised our veto. In fact, we are today voting against a resolution in the Commission on the Status of Women precisely because it implies that Jerusalem is "occupied Palestinian territory".

We simply do not support the description of the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war as "occupied Palestinian territory". In the view of my Government, this language could be taken to indicate sovereignty, a matter which both Israel and the PLO have agreed must be decided in negotiations on the final status of the territories. As agreed between them, those negotiations will begin not later than two years after the implementation of the Declaration of Principles.

Similarly, while my Government reaffirms our view that the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 12 August 1949, applies to territories occupied by Israel since 1967, we oppose the specific reference to Jerusalem in this resolution and will continue to oppose its insertion in future resolutions. As I have noted already, had this language been in the operative paragraphs, we would have vetoed the resolution.

The United States Government chose instead to disavow this language and express our opposition by abstaining on the second and sixth preambular paragraphs. We abstained on these paragraphs today because we want there to be no doubt about our condemnation of the massacre and because of our overriding concern to protect and promote the peace process and our desire to see negotiations resume very soon.

Jerusalem is one of the most sensitive issues to be addressed in the negotiations. As President Clinton stated on 16 March,

> "In terms of the resolution of Jerusalem, the position of the United States has not changed. But that is a matter for the parties to decide. And in accord with the declaration, it is something to be ultimately decided at a later point. That's what we think should be done."

Under the Declaration of Principles, it is an issue which Israel and the PLO have agreed will be dealt with in the final status negotiations. My Government does not believe that it is helpful to the negotiations to include the kind of reference that is made to Jerusalem in this resolution. It could prejudice or prejudge the outcome of the negotiations. The Security Council should respect the parties' agreement in this regard.

The United States asked for these unusual procedures this afternoon in order to make it clear - for all to see - that we cannot and will not support any effort by the Security Council to prejudice the outcome of the Middle East peace process. In this case, it is up to Israel and the Palestinians - not the United Nations - to make the hard decisions necessary for the promise of peace at the negotiating table to become the reality of peace on the ground.

The resolution also refers to measures to be taken to guarantee the safety and protection of Palestinian civilians, possibly to include a temporary international or foreign presence. The latter reference is to the provisions of the Declaration of Principles, which provide for the possibility of such a presence if agreed upon by the parties. If my Government can do something helpful in this area, we will seek to support the mutual wishes of the parties.

The resolution signals the will of the international community for peace in the Middle East. The objective of the United States and the Russian Federation, as co-sponsors, is to accelerate the negotiations and to try to bring them to a successful conclusion in the shortest possible time.

In conclusion, my Government is optimistic that the steps announced today in Washington to put the peace process back on track will lead to concrete achievements in negotiations between the parties. Without the confidence that the peace process will shortly resume, positive action on this resolution would not have been possible today.

I know that my colleagues share my hopes that some day soon the promise we all felt watching the momentous handshake last September can be realized.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The Russian Federation was alarmed to learn of the further outbreak of violence in the territories occupied by Israel, where a terrorist act by an Israeli settler caused the death or wounding of dozens of people in Hebron. This led to a sharp deterioration in the situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. There have been clashes between Israelis and Palestinians, resulting in further casualties.

Russia vigorously condemned this act of terror committed during prayers during the Muslim holy month of

Ramadan, and we have conveyed our condolences to the bereaved families and, indeed, to all Palestinians. All necessary measures must be taken to conduct an investigation and to prevent the recurrence of such events.

The Russian delegation notes that the ruthless act of violence in Hebron has been condemned by the leadership and major political parties of Israel. But that does not diminish the full responsibility of the Israeli Government and the need for it to act to prevent any flareup of violence. As members know, the Israeli Government is already taking a number of measures to that end.

We must note that this crime was committed precisely as work was being concluded on practical measures to implement the agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on the establishment of interim self-government in Gaza and the Jericho area. Clearly, the criminal's target was not only defenceless people in the mosque but also the very possibility of a peaceful solution to the long-standing conflict in the Middle East.

As a co-sponsor of the Middle East peace process, along with the United States, Russia appeals to the Palestinians and the Israelis to exercise the maximum restraint and good sense to prevent the extremists from undermining the negotiating process. The Russian delegation believes that at this time, so critical for the fate of the Middle East, we must cooperate in taking urgent measures to sustain the peace process and give it a second wind. The situation demands further international encouragement for conciliation between Arabs and Israelis.

For its part, Russia has maintained constant contact with the Palestinian and Israeli leadership with a view to finding the best way for it to assist the parties to resume their peace negotiations. During his recent visit to Tunis and Tel Aviv, the Foreign Minister of Russia, Mr. Andrei Kozyrev, held important talks with the leadership of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Russia is convinced that Israelis and Palestinians alike remain committed to a peace settlement. During the talks between Mr. Kozyrev and Mr. Yasser Arafat the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization consented in principle to the resumption of the negotiating process.

In the light of that decision, the Russian Federation believes that the prompt conclusion of talks between the PLO and Israel on the plan for Gaza and Jericho is of the highest priority. Following this, there must be immediate steps to implement the plan speedily. This would help reduce passions and would provide a further guarantee of security in the occupied territories.

For those reasons, we played an active role in preparing the draft resolution the Council has just adopted, and we joined other members in submitting that text in the belief that it would play an important part in the resumption of the peace process and in the implementation of all necessary measures in the interest of the prompt normalization of the situation in the occupied territories. It is unfortunate, however, that the Council did not react with the swiftness demanded by the circumstances.

The delegation of the Russian Federation stresses that the Council's adoption of this resolution on Hebron was an indispensable step, failing which the resumption of the negotiating process would be impossible. There is an understanding in principle on this point between the parties to the negotiating process, and between its sponsors. For its part, Russia, as a co-sponsor, is ready to bear its full share of responsibility in implementing today's resolution.

This is a critical moment for the negotiating process. The failure of that process would undoubtedly have grave consequences for the entire Middle East situation. All those upon whom progress at the negotiating table depends must recognize their responsibility before the world.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Violence breeds violence; terror breeds terror. That, at least, is how the conventional wisdom would have it. Responding to terror with terror, to violence with violence, is the standard response, the intellectually undemanding response, the routine response: an eye for an eye, as it says in the Old Testament. Such a response does not require any great imagination, any great wisdom - not even any great courage.

On the other hand, efforts to break out of the ensuing vicious circle require nothing less than imagination, wisdom and courage. It is the courageous leader who will shepherd his people through the thorny thickets of violence and terror in search for peace and prosperity. It is by contrast the coward who will ambush them, afraid perhaps that the search for peace might fail or that peace might not suit him. And these fears, as he acts them out, turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy. He might even succeed in his peace-wrecking if the peace-seeking leaders lose heart.

There is a lunatic fringe in most societies. It is the role of the State to exercise control over this lunatic, extremist fringe, to protect all of the State's population in the elementary sense of protecting their lives and peace of mind. Last month Israel manifestly failed to do this. In our resolution we call upon Israel to take measures that would prevent further illegal violence by its settlers and that would guarantee the safety and protection of Palestinian civilians throughout the occupied territory. The Czech delegation welcomes the steps Israel has taken so far. Belated though they are for the victims of the Cave of the Patriarchs, they will, we hope, help prevent further tragedies.

My President, Mr. Václav Havel, has not failed to express how profoundly shaken and outraged he was by the massacre. He too hopes that stern consequences and appropriate security measures will follow the tragedy. And let me add here how despicable and incomprehensible we find the reactions of those of our fellow human beings who feel less than total revulsion at the massacre.

We are heartened by the obvious determination of all concerned that fear of peace should not turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy. Fortunately for the world, the leaders of both communities that pray in the Cave of the Patriarchs are demonstrating imagination, courage and wisdom. Fortunately for the world, they are not ready to give up their efforts. They have, on the contrary, taken steps to prevent last month's mass assassination from assassinating our hopes for peace.

And this is where we come in. For us, the international community, the main implication of this unspeakable horror is that we must be forward-looking. The main implication has to be that we must not surrender to the false vision of the cowardly lunatic, but, rather, must redouble our support for the true vision of the courageous leaders of both the Palestine Liberation Organization and the State of Israel as they blaze their path through the thorny thickets of violence and terror to the peace that surely awaits them at the end of the journey. In that effort they have the unflinching support of my country, which - and let me reiterate this - supports every one of the Security Council resolutions related to the occupied territories.

Meanwhile, we mourn, pray and lament with the bereaved relatives of the victims. An abyss of tragedy suddenly opened up in front of every one of them in their inconsolable sorrow. Every individual affected is working through his or her grief alone, and here there is precious little the international community can do other than to offer its deepest, most sincere sympathies. These I offer, in all humility, on behalf of the people and the Government of the Czech Republic.

This is where one could have comfortably ended this statement had it been delivered four weeks ago, or even perhaps three. However, the fact that the Security Council as a whole is managing to respond to the tragedy of Hebron only after four long weeks should give us pause for reflection. It has been the feeling of my delegation that the Council should have reacted immediately - whatever form an immediate response could have taken. But we have in effect allowed others to determine the form of our response, and then, logically and ineluctably, also its wording and its timing. In so doing we have, we feel, abdicated some of our responsibility, and my delegation fears that the reputation of the Security Council has consequently suffered.

Mr. Ricardes (Argentina)(*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to reiterate the condemnation already forcefully expressed by the Government of the Argentine Republic on Friday, 25 February, of the atrocious crime perpetrated in Hebron during the hour of prayer in the Mosque of Ibrahimi. We wish also to say that we share the understandable pain of the Palestinian people.

This inexplicable crime, whose aim was to rekindle the flame of hatred and intolerance between two peoples that had decided to embark on the path of reconciliation, showed that fanaticism and ignorance are but one step removed from death. It is obvious that neither sick and solitary individuals nor tiny groups that feed on resentment or anger can impose their will on peoples that want to live and grow in peace, in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

I wish to express my Government's renewed commitment - which is the commitment of the international community - to the peace process that is under way. Episodes such as the one with which we are dealing in fact only magnify the need to overcome violence and replace it most urgently with lasting and just peace. It is our fervent hope that calm will soon return to the minds of the people in the occupied territories, thus strengthening the resolve of those who so wisely initiated the peace process. In this context, we urgently appeal to the parties to pursue the efforts for peace with a view to seeking a definitive solution to the problem. We also wish to commend Israel on the series of concrete measures adopted on 27 February by the Government as a response to the events in Hebron.

The Argentine Republic has expressed its support for the resolution that we and all the other members of the Council have adopted, with the consensus of the international community. In it the massacre of Palestinians in Hebron is strongly condemned. It could not be otherwise. In the resolution the Council also reaffirms the international community's support for the peace process; recalls the fundamental duty of the occupying Power to guarantee fulfilment of the obligations and responsibilities explicitly incumbent upon it by virtue of the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 12 August 1949; and calls upon the parties to agree to the establishment of a foreign presence in the framework of the Declaration of Principles on provisions related to interim self-government and to its annex II.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): My Government has already made clear how deeply we deplore the horrendous crime that was committed on 25 February in Hebron. The Prime Minister, John Major, has written to the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) expressing the revulsion we feel at this massacre of innocent Palestinians; and he has conveyed, through Mr. Arafat, our condolences to the families of the victims. At times like this words are never adequate to convey the full depth of the sympathy we feel, nor our shock that innocent worshippers should be murdered in a holy place.

The delay in adopting the resolution is regrettable, but it does not reflect any lack of concern about the situation by any of the members of the Security Council. On the contrary, the delay was caused by the need to resolve satisfactorily a number of very difficult and sensitive issues. Disunity in the Council suits nobody but the extremists on both sides.

My Government remains convinced that this outrage must not be allowed to put at risk the peace process. That was the intention of the gunman. He must not be allowed to succeed. What happened in Hebron only serves to underline the importance of a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Unimagined progress has been achieved over the last year. The parties now need to make the extra effort to bring the negotiations to an early and successful conclusion. There could be no better way of showing that acts of terrorism will not be allowed to prevail than to implement the Declaration of Principles without further delay.

My Government believes that an international civilian presence in the occupied territories would indeed usefully contribute to improving the safety and protection of the Palestinian inhabitants. Something along these lines was foreseen in the Declaration of Principles. The Foreign Secretary has already made clear that if there were to be an international observer presence in the occupied territories the United Kingdom would not be absent. And European Union Foreign Ministers meeting in Brussels on 7 March expressed their support for an international presence and declared the European Union's willingness to participate. We believe that the work of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa could provide a good model for such an international presence. We hope that the parties concerned will be able to reach agreement on such an international presence as soon as possible.

But it is important not to promise more than we can deliver. My Government takes the firm view that it is the responsibility of the Israeli authorities to provide protection for all the inhabitants of the occupied territories. They must act urgently to bring to an end all acts of violence, in line with their obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention. An international presence could help defuse tension, but it could not be a substitute for the Israeli authorities.

In conclusion, my Government very much welcomes the adoption of this resolution, and hopes that it will facilitate efforts to ensure an early resumption of the peace process.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): New Zealand was appalled by the senseless and tragic event which took place in Hebron three weeks ago. The massacre of worshippers in a shrine transgresses every bound of decency, morality and humanity. New Zealand extends its deepest condolences to the families of those who died, and to the people of Hebron, whose city has been visited by this awful tragedy.

We are disappointed that it has taken this long for the Security Council to respond to this tragedy, but we are pleased that the Israeli Government has recognized the need to take strong measures as a consequence of this incident. We commend the establishment of a commission of inquiry and the action that has been taken to outlaw two of the more extremist groups whose presence in the occupied territories is a continuing complication to the search for peace and whose tactics are nothing short of terrorism.

At the same time, we believe it is imperative that Israel, as the occupying Power, comply with all its obligations under international law. Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, Israel must take effective action to stop extremists from committing mayhem upon the civilian

population. It must guarantee the safety and protection of all of the civilian population of the occupied territories.

We understand and sympathize with the concerns of the Palestinians to have some form of international presence in the territories as a means of safeguarding against further atrocities.

In recent months, Israelis and Palestinians have charted a new way forward. The intentions of those who wish to frustrate that process must not be allowed to prevail. Peace must not and cannot be destroyed by the violent actions of an individual or those who support him. The surest means of guaranteeing that such incidents are not perpetuated is to bring the peace negotiations to a successful conclusion. Difficult as it may be to negotiate in the aftermath of such a bloody incident, we urge the parties to the peace process to resume their talks quickly. To fail to do so would be to hand victory to the extremists who oppose a peaceful resolution of the problems of the Middle East.

We are therefore very heartened at the news that Palestinian and Israeli leaders are to meet soon. We hope that this will pave the way for the fulfilment of the historic agreement that was reached in Washington last September. We call for a strengthened commitment to the Declaration of Principles. From this point on, it is essential in our view that delays in negotiations be avoided. We have seen that such delays cause deadlines to be missed and erode confidence in the peace process, and are thus damaging in themselves.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): The delegation of Brazil has lent its support to resolution 904 (1994), just adopted by the Security Council, as a clear demonstration of its revulsion at the appalling massacre of peaceful Palestinian worshippers in the Mosque of Abraham in Hebron on 25 February 1994 during the month of Ramadan.

On the very day of that tragic event, the Government of Brazil issued the following press communiqué:

> "Deeply shocked by the terrorist attack which killed more than 50 Palestinians as they were praying in a mosque in the city of Hebron in the Israeli occupied territories, the Government and people of Brazil express their indignation and strong condemnation of such an unacceptable act of brutality.
>
> "Brazil trusts that the Government of Israel will be prepared to take the necessary measures to ensure the prevention of new acts of violence and stresses once again the need for moderation and restraint so that the peace process can be accelerated and be concluded for the benefit of all the peoples of the region."

Brazil associates itself with the universal condemnation of this outrageous massacre as we offer our heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families and to the Palestinian people. At the same time, we continue to express our support for the continuation of the peace process currently under way and we appeal to all parties to pursue vigorously the implementation of the Declaration of Principles signed by the Government of Israel and by the Palestine Liberation Organization on 13 September 1993 in Washington. Brazil fervently hopes that terrorist acts such as this one will not be allowed to succeed in derailing the peace process so painstakingly nurtured by the parties. At the same time, Brazil joins with other delegations in calling upon the Government of Israel to guarantee the safety and protection of Palestinian civilians throughout the occupied territories, including, inter alia, through a temporary international or foreign presence, which was provided for in the Declaration of Principles, within the context of the ongoing peace process. The Government of Israel should also take firm and immediate measures, including the confiscation of arms, to bring an end to the illegal acts of violence by the Israeli settlers.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of France.

The feelings of horror and indignation unanimously aroused by the Hebron massacre prompted the Council to meet urgently to debate the situation and to examine the measures necessary to continue the peace process, at the same time as discussions were in progress on its formal reaction, whereby it would voice its condemnation and make its decisions public.

France, for its part, immediately condemned with the utmost vigour this act of terrorism, committed in a place of prayer, and called upon the parties to rise above their legitimate feelings so that the positive developments of recent months should not be called into question. My Government has been in contact with the parties to facilitate the resumption of the dialogue and the adoption of the necessary measures for the restoration of confidence. It has also repeatedly insisted that the Council take an official

stand as soon as possible. The understandable feelings of the Palestinian civilian population indeed called for a prompt reaction.

The Israeli authorities' strong condemnation of this massacre, as well as the urgent measures decided upon by the Israeli cabinet, constitute a first step in the right direction, in particular the measures designed to disarm and control the extremist settlers and to establish a commission of enquiry to shed light on all the circumstances of this tragedy. As my authorities have repeatedly stressed, it is for the Government of Israel to do everything possible to guarantee the security of the Palestinian civilian population.

My delegation welcomes the adoption of resolution 904 (1994), of which it is a sponsor. It condemns, without the slightest ambiguity, the massacre in the Mosque of Abraham. It calls upon the Government of Israel to fulfil its responsibilities in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, pursuant to the terms of the Fourth Geneva Convention. My Government attaches particular importance to provisions recommending that measures to protect Palestinian civilians be taken, in particular through a temporary foreign or international presence in accordance with the terms of the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993. That presence could, for example, take the form of the dispatch of civilian observers of the United Nations with a monitoring and verification mission, the details of which remain to be defined.

My Government is anxious that the Hebron massacre should not be allowed to call into question the peace process and the progress it has made. That is why the provisions which urge the parties to step up the peace negotiations in order to implement as soon as possible the Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993 seem to it to be of the greatest importance. In this regard, we believe that the question of settlements and their possible regrouping must be the subject of negotiations. Furthermore, to avoid the recurrence of any similar tragedy, thought should be given to disarming settlers when they move outside the settlements in the occupied territories. Finally, this process should be accompanied by confidence-building measures such as the continuing freeing of prisoners in addition to what has already been done.

The massacre at the Cave of the Patriarchs constitutes a further attempt on the part of certain extremists to thwart the prospects of peace between the Arabs and the Israelis. It is imperative that we do not allow ourselves to be dragged into the vicious circle of confrontation.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I call on the representative of Israel.

Mr. Yaacobi (Israel): At the outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I have no doubt that your wealth of diplomatic experience and personal skills will be of invaluable assistance in conducting the affairs of the Council.

Israel believes that all sides should dedicate themselves from now on to resuming and accelerating the peace process. This is the only way to change the reality and create a new future for Israelis, Palestinians and the neighboring Arab States.

Therefore, we share the Security Council's support for the peace process currently under way, and call for the implementation of the Declaration of Principles, signed by Israel and the PLO, without delay.

My Government welcomes the steps announced today to put the peace process back on track soon. The letters of invitation to the Madrid Peace Conference, sent by the co-sponsors to the participants on 18 October 1991, constitute the terms of reference upon which the peace process is based. Within this framework, Israel and the PLO signed the Declaration of Principles on 13 September 1993, as well as the Cairo Agreement on 9 February 1994. We believe that we have to act within the framework of the agreed peace process and those agreements.

Security must be guaranteed for all residents of the territories, Jews and Arabs alike. We can best achieve this by implementing the Declaration of Principles, Article VIII of which stipulates:

> "In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council will establish a strong police force, while Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order."

The Declaration of Principles provides for the possibility of a temporary international or foreign presence, as agreed

upon. We maintain that nothing in the present resolution prejudices this provision in the Declaration of Principles.

Following the tragic event which took place in Hebron on 25 February, Israel strongly condemned this massacre, this murder, and took some unprecedented measures. At its weekly meeting on Sunday, 13 March 1994, the Government of Israel declared that the Kach and Kahane Chai movements are terrorist organizations. This announcement applies to these organizations as well as to any group of people acting to achieve aims of the nature which the aforementioned groups have been working to achieve.

The Government of Israel also reaffirmed that at present, as in the past, it is solely responsible, by means of the Israel Defence Forces and the Israel Police, for the security of all inhabitants, Jewish and Arab, of the territories. The Government of Israel intends to take all measures necessary to ensure security within the boundaries of the law.

The Government of Israel stated that, with the completion of the negotiations on the Gaza-Jericho agreement, a Palestinian police force will be established which will take responsibility for the security of the Arab residents of those areas. During the transition period the necessary measures will be taken to ensure that a security vacuum is not created.

The reference to Jerusalem in this resolution is not compatible with the Declaration of Principles, whereby both parties have agreed to address the issue not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period. The reference to Jerusalem in the resolution is also at variance with Israel's position regarding the city's present and future status: Jerusalem will remain united under Israeli sovereignty as our eternal capital.

Israel has suffered from terrorism throughout the years of its existence, yet we have never abandoned our quest for peace. Now, too, Israel remains fully committed to advancing towards peace on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the PLO.

Time is precious. We should not miss this historic opportunity. We call upon the Palestinians and all other participants in the negotiations - Syria, Jordan and Lebanon - to return to the peace talks in order to carry on with the essential task of establishing peace and security in our region.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Israel for his kind words addressed to me.

I now call on the Permanent Observer of Palestine.

Mr. Al-Kidwa (Palestine) *(interpretation from Arabic):* Although this question has been before the Council for a long time, this is the first time I have made a statement to the Council this month. It is my pleasure, Sir, to extend to you our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency, as the representative of France, a friendly and glorious country. Your wisdom and views have made a great difference in the results achieved by the Council today. We give you credit for that. We also thank Ambassador Olhaye, Permanent Representative of sisterly Djibouti, for his able stewardship of the Council last month.

I would also like to offer our thanks and appreciation to the members of the Security Council for adopting this important resolution, resoluion 904 (1994). We worked hard with them, including the co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process, to remove all obstacles and problems in connection with the adoption of this resolution. In this respect, we convey special thanks to the non-aligned members of the Council for all the valuable support and assistance they have given us.

At the same time, we cannot but note that three weeks have elapsed since the appalling massacre of our people in Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi in Al-Khalil. This lengthy delay has undoubtedly generated a great deal of suspicion and many questions among the Palestinian people and in the Arab region as a whole with regard to the Council's desire - or, for that matter, its ability, because of the position of a permanent member - effectively to fulfil its responsibilities with the required speed when it comes to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. We hope that the future will see a reversal of this picture.

Before setting out our understanding of today's resolution and its place in the overall context of the situation in the Middle East, we would like to draw members' attention to two important issues. The first concerns events in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, since the massacre and the emerging facts about the massacre itself. The repressive measures of the occupying authorities, particularly the Israeli army, against our people in the occupied territory are continuing unabated. Such measures include extensive curfews and

indiscriminate shooting, which have resulted in a number of deaths and injuries exceeding the casualties resulting from the massacre itself. We strongly demand the immediate cessation of all these illegitimate practices, which the Council has condemned repeatedly.

To the emerging details about the massacre itself - including the sudden and suspicious absence of the Israeli security elements at the beginning of the massacre and their participation in the shooting afterwards, and the policies implemented by the security forces of Israel, the occupying Power, with regard to the Israeli settlers - confirm once again the validity of our general position that the massacre and all other heinous manifestations are simply the natural outcome of the ideology and mentality of settler colonialism in our Palestinian land.

The problem, then, is the illegal presence of settlers on our land. This cannot be reduced to the presence of extremist settlers only, in spite of the fact that they are the worst, and it definitely cannot be reduced to Mr. Baruch Goldstein, in spite of the fact that he has become the symbol of the problem, both in its origins and in its outcome. Thus there can be no serious or real solutions to this problem without the adoption of new policies aimed at the reversal of the situation existing today and, at a later stage, the dismantlement of the settlements.

The second issue, which we raise as a result of discussions which have taken place here in the Council and which have been tainted by disinformation, regards the reference, in the text of this resolution, to Jerusalem as part of the occupied territories since 1967 and the relationship between this reference and the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993. It is well known that reference to Jerusalem as part of the occupied territories has been a consistent practice of the Council for a long time. In point of fact, every single resolution relating to the Palestinian issue adopted by the Council in the past has contained this language formulation, in preambular paragraphs and, indeed, in operative paragraphs alike.

Thus, the Council's adoption of the same language today only reflects continuation of this policy. Any attempt to change this language poses the danger of a change in this policy.

Here, we wish to express our disappointment and our deep concern at the abstention today of the delegation of the United States of America in the vote on the last preambular paragraph in the resolution as well as in the vote on the second preambular paragraph, which came as a total surprise to us at the very last moment. We earnestly hope that those abstentions do not signal a departure from the United States long-held consistent position on this sensitive issue.

With reference to the question of the potential impact of the Declaration of Principles on the question of Jerusalem and on other important issues such as settlements and refugees, which have been postponed until the second stage of negotiations between the two sides, I categorically affirm that the legal and political status of those issues is determined by international law and international legitimacy. Furthermore, postponement of negotiations on those issues has no bearing whatsoever on their current legal and political status. For example, according to international humanitarian law - specifically the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 - and several Security Council resolutions, the settlements are illegal and constitute obstacles to peace. They remain so, whether negotiations have taken place or not. The same applies to Jerusalem.

Arab East Jerusalem has been an integral part of the occupied Palestinian territory since 1967, and, according to relevant Security Council resolutions and the principles of international law, all measures taken by Israel, the occupying Power, aimed at changing the status of Jerusalem are null and void. If the Declaration of Principles has any bearing on this, it should be understood in favor of the position of the international community and not the opposite, since Israel accepted in principle that the final status of Jerusalem will be subject to negotiation. We hope that no party would contemplate distorting or manipulating the facts or would attempt to change the realities related to these important issues, because such attempts would certainly lead to dangerous results, which must be avoided.

The resolution adopted today by the Council is undoubtedly an essential and important step forward. The resolution itself demonstrates that the Council has upheld its own responsibilities towards the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem. In this resolution, the Council, after it strongly condemns Al-Khalil massacre, calls upon Israel, the occupying Power, given its obligations and responsibilities, to take specific measures, including confiscation of arms, with the aim of preventing illegal acts of violence by Israeli settlers. The Council, at the same time, calls for measures to be taken to guarantee the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians throughout the occupied territory, including a temporary international or foreign presence. The Council

then requests the co-sponsors of the peace process to undertake the necessary support for the implementation of those measures.

The main issue here, as members are aware, is the provision of protection for the Palestinian civilians under occupation. The materialization of such protection will lead to the creation of a new situation on the ground in which our people may start to have a normal life, albeit a limited one, until the end of the occupation. The Security Council, as is clear from the resolution, did not get into the details of this issue. That fact does not, however, absolve the Council from its responsibilities towards the implementation of the resolution in the direction defined by the Council today and decided in its previous resolutions, particularly resolution 681 (1990).

We believe that the main task now is the implementation of the resolution. For our part, we will work with the parties concerned to begin this implementation immediately. The experience of our people with previous Security Council resolutions is not a happy one, and we strongly hope that things will be different this time.

With regard to the relationship between this resolution and the peace process, we agree with those who assert that this resolution cannot be viewed in isolation from the peace process, and we believe that the resolution will have a positive impact on that process. However, the real positive and qualitative impact will take place with the implementation of the resolution, not only with its adoption, and with the creation of a concrete, material situation which can be felt by the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territory. That can be achieved, basically, by means of the international presence mentioned in the resolution.

We, the Palestinians, have a vested interest in the peace process and its success, and we are committed to it. But, at the same time, we say that the resumption of this process as if nothing had happened is not feasible, and suggesting such a thing is unacceptable and even immoral. The restarting of the process and its successful conclusion depend on the credibility of the process, the credibility of its sponsors and the credibility of its participants - especially the Israeli Government, which should adopt clear measures to respond to the pain and the needs of our people and not only to deal with the negative impact of the massacre on the Israeli side.

We have taken due note of the measures taken by the Israeli Government so far and we have said that they are steps in the right direction; however, they definitely fall short of meeting the requirements for rescuing the peace process. In the past, we have repeatedly enumerated steps in this regard which it is Israel's duty to adopt. These steps include the official and total cessation of all settlement activities, the disarming of the settlers, the removal of the settlers from towns and villages, especially from Hebron, and the expediting of negotiations on final solutions for the settlement question. Such steps could create a different situation, and they all fit within the framework of the Declaration of Principles and are perfectly in line with its provisions.

The Palestinian people need to be convinced that Israel is serious about peace. That, however, will be very difficult to do without their first becoming convinced that no more massacres will be committed aqainst them in the future.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I thank the representative of Palestine for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3352

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3352nd Meeting

Wednesday, 23 March 1994, 6.05 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Umar
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Grey

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti (S/1994/311)

94-85306 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 6.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti (S/1994/311)

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti, document S/1994/311.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/325, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 905 (1994).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3353

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3353rd Meeting
Wednesday, 23 March 1994, 6.10 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Umar
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Grey

Agenda

The situation in Afghanistan

94-85312 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Afghanistan

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Afghanistan, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Farhadi (Afghanistan) took a place at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the following documents: S/1994/156, letter dated 9 February 1994 from the representatives of the Russian Federation and Uzbekistan addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/157, letter dated 7 February 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting a communiqué of the Presidency on behalf of the European Union; and S/1994/318, letter dated 14 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council deeply regrets that the food blockade imposed on Kabul continues. This situation is increasing the hardships of the population in all sectors of the capital, since the humanitarian aid that has so far been provided has not alleviated substantially the plight of hundreds of thousands of the city's starving inhabitants.

"The Council continues to believe that the seriousness of the humanitarian situation is entirely due to the ongoing fighting in Afghanistan, and calls for its immediate cessation. This fighting has been the cause of the suffering of the Afghan population and of repeated interruptions in the delivery of humanitarian aid in that country.

"The Council therefore calls for an immediate end to the obstacles to the passage of humanitarian aid in order to ensure that future supplies are distributed without hindrance to the whole of the population. In this regard, the Council expresses its appreciation to the countries in the region for facilitating efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to Kabul and other provinces of the country. Furthermore, the Council calls upon the international community to extend urgent humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan in order to alleviate the suffering of the Afghan people.

"The Council stresses the importance that it attaches to full compliance with international humanitarian law in all its aspects and recalls that those who violate international humanitarian law bear individual responsibility.

"The Council welcomes the Secretary-General's appointment of a special mission to Afghanistan, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 48/208. This mission will canvass a broad spectrum of Afghanistan's leaders to solicit their views on how the United Nations can best assist Afghanistan in facilitating national *rapprochement* and reconstruction.

"The Council supports this mission, which is due to leave Geneva soon, and urges all Afghans to assist it in carrying out its mandate and thus promote a cessation of hostilities, the resumption of humanitarian aid and the restoration of peace in Afghanistan."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/PRST/12.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3354

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3354th Meeting
Friday, 25 March 1994, 6 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Perez-Griffo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1994/312 and Add.1)

94-85324 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council.*

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 7 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/1994/312 and Add.1)

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Georgia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Chkheidze (Georgia) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, documents S/1994/312 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/347, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to documents S/1994/317 and S/1994/343, which contain the texts of letters dated 21 and 24 March 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Georgia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) *(interpretation from Arabic):* I am grateful to you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to speak on the question of Georgia.

My delegation would like to explain its vote before the voting on the draft resolution before us. We attach the greatest importance to the need for a settlement of the situation in Georgia and of the conflict in Abkhazia, which requires a resumption of negotiations in order to arrive at a peaceful resolution. The best way to settle the conflict, we believe, is a resumed dialogue between the two parties in a climate of understanding and political good will, precisely in order to reach a political settlement.

My delegation feels that the prime purpose of the Security Council and the international community must be, at this stage, to strengthen the peace process and strongly to encourage the two parties to negotiate. In previous resolutions, the Council established a link between extending the mandate of the United Nations observers in Georgia and the need to make progress towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict. However, we note that no settlement has yet been reached; despite successive stages of negotiations between the two parties held under the auspices of the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Russian Federation.

Nevertheless, on an exceptional basis, in order not to hamper the peace process, the Security Council has decided to extend the mandate of the Observer Mission in Georgia, and we note that operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution refers to consideration of the possible establishment of a peace-keeping force in Abkhazia.

My delegation does not consider it appropriate for the Council to be considering this matter at present. On the contrary, my Government feels that the Council's involvement in such details is premature and may well set a dangerous precedent leading to complications in the situation.

The Security Council should not intervene. However, in a spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding, we have attempted to make the text more acceptable by amending it to reflect the reality in the field as we see it and to keep the Council from intervening prematurely in these kinds of issues, particularly given the unfortunate current financial situation of the United Nations.

These considerations, however, are not reflected in the draft resolution before the Council, despite my delegation's efforts and those of other interested delegations. Nevertheless, in order to reach a consensus, and aware that the concerned parties in Georgia will accept the United Nations forces, my delegation, as I have said, has joined the consensus and will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I now put the draft resolution (S/1994/347) to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 906 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* The delegation of the Russian Federation attaches importance to the appeal, contained in the resolution just adopted by the Security Council, for the parties to resume the negotiations as soon as possible and to achieve substantive progress towards a political settlement based on the principles set out in the Council's previous resolutions. Foremost among those principles, in the opinion of the Russian Federation, is respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia. We are satisfied that this principle has been clearly restated in today's resolution.

The letter dated 24 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Georgia to the United Nations addressed to the Security Council (S/1994/343) confirms his Government's readiness to continue negotiations with a view to reaching a comprehensive political settlement in Abkhazia. We welcome that statement and also note that the head of the Georgian delegation to the Geneva talks, Mr. Jaba Ioseliani, in his letter of 21 March 1994 addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/317) confirms the Government of Georgia's willingness to broaden the political and legal status of Abkhazia and, in order to vest it with real substance, to divide the governing competencies between the State governing bodies of the Republic of Georgia and of Abkhazia, including the granting of exclusive competencies to the latter. This position of the Government of the Republic of Georgia is an important prerequisite for the success of the talks.

We are convinced that the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Georgia, Ambassador Edouard Brunner - who has already done much to bring the parties closer together - will be able to resume the negotiating process immediately. We confirm our readiness to continue to work closely with him with a view to contributing to the early attainment of a political settlement of the conflict.

The Russian Federation considers that the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) is accomplishing very useful work. We are grateful to General Hvidegaard, the head of the Mission, for his effective work. We believe that, within the existing mandate, it will be possible to mobilize further the activities of the Mission and that the Secretary-General will keep in mind the possibilities available to him to expand it. In this context, great importance attaches to the appeal to the parties, contained in the resolution just adopted, to take all necessary steps to ensure the security of UNOMIG personnel and its freedom of movement throughout the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

Of particular importance is the Security Council's confirmation of its intention duly to consider the possible establishment of a peace-keeping force in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, in the context of the efforts to achieve a political settlement. It is important that the two sides be able to consider the possibility of the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation, which the Georgian and Abkhaz sides alike have repeatedly and insistently requested. In this connection, I should like to recall that the Georgian Head of State, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, in his statement to the Security Council on 9 March, stressed the great importance of the deployment in the zone of conflict of United Nations peace-

keeping forces - without which it would be impossible to attain a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia - and of ensuring the safe return to Abkhazia of refugees and displaced persons, without which it would of course be impossible to end the conflict.

The Russian Federation fully shares the position of the Georgian leadership. We also believe that the deployment of United Nations peace-keeping forces in the zone of conflict is indispensable to ensuring that the peace process becomes irreversible.

In that connection, the Russian Federation considers it essential that the Council confirm its request to the Secretary-General to report on whatever progress is made in the negotiations as soon as it is achieved and on the situation on the ground, with special attention to the circumstances that might warrant a peace-keeping force and on the modalities for such a force. It is important that the Secretariat continue preparatory work for such a United Nations operation so that it can be deployed immediately once the Security Council has taken a decision to do so.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): It is by default that we have today adopted a resolution which in a sense is only technical. My delegation would have been prepared to discuss a very substantial resolution that would have authorized a serious peace-keeping effort in Georgia, for the situation there has not improved one iota since President Shevardnadze addressed this Council two or three weeks ago and eloquently requested the dispatch of such a force. We still hope that we will have the opportunity to discuss such a force sometime in the future.

Unfortunately, the results of negotiations between the Georgian and Abkhaz parties have not been nearly as encouraging as we had all hoped. The Secretary-General, in his very, very sober report of 18 March (S/1994/312), notes that the parties are far apart on three absolutely fundamental issues: recognition of the territorial integrity of Georgia; the repatriation of refugees and stateless persons; and the role and area of deployment of a possible peace-keeping force.

Safeguarding the territorial integrity of Georgia is an issue upon which the Council has insisted on other occasions too. It is an issue that transcends Georgia itself: several former States that have disintegrated in recent years have bequeathed us the legacy of former internal borders. The issue of the borders between the former constituent parts of these States turning into international borders has become a burning issue. Georgia is an additional example of the dangers inherent in efforts to change these borders by force.

The right of refugees to return to their homes is a crucial right which we uphold in the case of Georgia as we do elsewhere in the world. Refining further the novel concept of "ethnic cleansing", Abkhazian authorities now seem to wish to screen those of the quarter-million refugees from Abkhazia who wish to return home. Those authorities wish to make sure that none of those refugees who might have actively defended their homes from the "ethnic cleansers" return. This is unacceptable.

In addition to the humanitarian aspect of the refugee issue, there is also the aspect concerning what one might call the politics of demographics. The inhabitants of Abkhazia certainly will have a say in the future of their region. The important thing, though, is that all inhabitants of Abkhazia *ante bellum* should have such a say. We have always recognized the multi-ethnic character Abkhazia has had in the past. We find abhorrent any efforts to change its ethnic composition by force, in order to pursue ulterior political motives.

Finally, the parties disagree on the role and area of deployment of peace-keepers. The Abkhazian leaders would like a peace-keeping operation to petrify, in essence, the line that today separates the territory they control from the rest of Georgia. My delegation believes that we do not need any more countries divided by a United Nations-protected "green line". The Georgian Government in turn wishes for a peace-keeping operation to oversee and safeguard the safe return of refugees, against Abkhaz opposition if need be. This, however, would probably call implicitly for a Chapter-VII operation.

The Czech delegation believes that, even with these constraints, we can try to maximize our effectiveness. In our resolution, we urge the parties to continue talking, and in fact to establish a mechanism for a permanent dialogue, rather than just hold ad hoc meetings. We welcome in this context the readiness which the Georgian Government has expressed to continue negotiations. We furthermore reiterate our encouragement to States to lend a helping hand to Georgia in coping with hundreds of thousands of its internal refugees - without the benefit of international television cameras.

Finally - and here is the true technical nature of today's resolution - we are extending the mandate of our tiny little United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia

(UNOMIG) by another three months. We stress in this context the necessity for their safety and freedom of movement. We would hate to see a repetition of the situation that occurred in the Gali region in early February. On that occasion, fighting broke out with perhaps thousands of combatants involved, resulting in additional thousands of refugees, but UNOMIG was denied access to the area for days. We should like to see the situation of UNOMIG improve enough for the chief military observer to find it useful to build the Mission up to its full authorized strength.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to recall that Abkhazia is not the only problem Georgia faces. Another one is southern Ossetia, where the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is very much involved. The two situations, of course, cannot help but influence each other. This in turn underlines the importance of cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE. The early appointment of a liaison officer between the two organizations on the spot, as recently recommended by the CSCE's Committee of Senior Officials, should be the next practical manifestation of that cooperation.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation too would like to thank the Secretary-General for his useful report on the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia, which was the basis for our deliberations leading to the resolution we have just adopted, and of which my delegation voted in favour.

My Government remains concerned by the fact that the situation there continues to be grave in spite of the various efforts that have been made to address the situation. After listening to the very frank and moving address by President Shevardnadze on 9 March, my delegation cannot but be convinced that the establishment of an appropriately composed peace-keeping operation would be most desirable. My delegation believes that such a United Nations presence would make a very positive contribution to the international peace efforts in that troubled country. We believe too that the deployment of such a force, when carried out, would not only further assure the possibility of a workable and durable cease-fire but would also constitute a suitable confidence-building measure, which would facilitate the early return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes.

The issue of refugees and displaced persons is of special interest to my delegation. As many members of the Council are probably aware, one out of every two refugees in the world is African. We have serious refugee situations in Angola, Mozambique, Liberia and, more recently, Burundi. My delegation therefore welcomes the reference in the resolution to the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes in secure conditions. We support also the call on donor States to make the necessary contributions to the United Nations humanitarian appeal.

Meanwhile, my Government fully endorses the need for the parties to the conflict and all others concerned to respect another principle that is very dear to us in Africa: the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, in this case the Republic of Georgia. Now is the time to stress the necessity for all concerned to do what is necessary to reach expeditiously vital agreements on outstanding matters related to the situation in Abkhazia, including Abkhazia's political status. It is important also, while all these efforts are in progress, that the security and safety of the personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) should be assured.

Finally, my delegation wishes to thank the relevant Governments and international organizations that have been playing a very constructive role in the efforts of the United Nations to bring peace to the area and protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia. We especially appreciate the efforts of neighbouring States and the specialized role of the organizations concerned with the prosecution of humanitarian activities in Georgia. We urge that these efforts be sustained until peace is fully restored in Georgia.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): My delegation voted in favour of resolution 906 (1994). The situation in Georgia continues to be of great concern. We regret that no political settlement has been achieved despite all the diplomatic efforts carried out to date. My delegation firmly believes that the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Georgia should be fully respected, as stated in the Council's previous resolutions as well as in resolution 906 (1994).

We are also deeply concerned by the reports of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and refugees in Georgia as a result of the fighting. The displaced persons and refugees have a right to return to their homes in conditions of safety. The international community should be able to provide prompt and adequate assistance. We note that an early deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation in Abkhazia is supported by both sides, though with important differences as to the modalities. We support the deployment of such an operation as a crucial element of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict, as

soon as there is enough common ground between the parties to ensure the proper functioning, as well as the safety, of a possible peace-keeping operation.

The resolution that we have just adopted reiterates the call for the Secretary-General to report to the Council on whatever progress is made in the negotiations as soon as it is achieved. We urge both parties to negotiate in good faith; otherwise, the political process will become hostage to deliberate procrastination by one of the parties, thus jeopardizing prospects for a peaceful settlement acceptable to all.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of France.

The draft resolution on which my delegation has just voted in favour is not the one that the French Government would have wished to see adopted today by the Security Council. We would have much preferred today to be making provisions that would enable the United Nations to make its contribution to the implementation of a comprehensive settlement agreed to between the parties.

The priority from now on is therefore the resumption of negotiations, so that there is an end to the fighting and to the suffering inflicted on the civil population. The international community must not resign itself to the impasse that followed the last meeting in New York, at the highest level between the Government of Georgia and the Abkhaz side. We therefore call on the parties to resume negotiations without delay, and in this connection we welcome the statement on this topic issued on 24 March by the Government of Georgia.

The parties will have to demonstrate flexibility and realism in the negotiations. We strongly urge them to take the fullest account of the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, to whom we pay tribute and in whom we again express our confidence. The fact that we so earnestly desire flexibility and realism does not mean that we are prepared to renounce the fundamental principles set out in the United Nations Charter. I am thinking here particularly about respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia, which the Council has unambiguously reaffirmed in the resolution that it has just adopted.

Once an overall political agreement has been concluded it will be up to the Council to decide on the deployment of a peace-keeping operation with the mandate of ensuring that commitments are honoured. In this connection, I should like to make two points that my authorities regard as essential. First, United Nations involvement requires respect for certain rules - in particular, the impartiality of the forces in the field and effective control by the Security Council over carrying out their mandate. Secondly, with regard to the manner of deployment there can be no question of setting up a new buffer force that would result only in freezing the military situation and political positions. We have too many examples of peace-keeping forces of that kind, condemned to have their mandates extended indefinitely, perhaps to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, but with no gain for the cause of peace.

As soon as a lasting political agreement has been concluded and the conditions for United Nations intervention in line with the Organization's principles have been guaranteed the French Government will be prepared to consider favourably the establishment of a peace-keeping operation and to take action in the Council so that a decision to that end is taken without delay. This is, moreover, the signal sent by resolution 906 (1994), which we fully endorse.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3355

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3355th Meeting

Tuesday, 29 March 1994, 3.15 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Walker

Agenda

The situation concerning Western Sahara

Report by the Secretary-General (S/1994/283 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1)

94-85330 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Western Sahara

Report by the Secretary-General (S/1994/283 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1)

The President *(interpretation from the French):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Western Sahara, documents S/1994/283 and Addendum 1 and Addendum 1/Corrigendum 1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/352, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revision to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/352, in its provisional form: the sixth preambular paragraph should read as follows: "Recalling paragraph 22 of the Secretary General's report (S/1994/283),".

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised, in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from the French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution in its provisional form, as orally revised, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 907 (1994).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3356

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3356th Meeting

Thursday, 31 March 1994, 5.15 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Walker

Agenda

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 900 (1994) (S/1994/291 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 871 (1993) (S/1994/300)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolutions 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992) (S/1994/333)

Letter dated 30 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/367)

94-85396 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 900 (1994) (S/1994/291 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 871 (1993) (S/1994/300)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to resolutions 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992) (S/1994/333)

Letter dated 30 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/367)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Omar Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the reports of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 900 (1994), documents S/1994/291 and Corrigendum 1 and Addendum 1; pursuant to resolution 871 (1993), document S/1994/300; and pursuant to Security Council resolutions 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992), document S/1994/333, as well as the letter dated 30 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/367.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/359, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/302 and S/1994/336, letters dated 15 and 23 March 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/305 and Corrigendum 1, letter dated 16 March 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/328, letter dated 22 March 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/330, letter dated 22 March 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/331, letter dated 23 March 1994 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/350, letter dated 25 March 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his reports presented pursuant to resolutions 900 (1994), 844 (1993), 836 (1993) and 776 (1992) and for making proposals in connection with settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

My delegation salutes the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, for their efforts and thanks those

countries and organizations that are supporting the process of a political settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

I would also like to pay tribute to the personnel of UNPROFOR and of the multilateral and non-governmental agencies whose actions have contributed to improving the terrible situation in that region.

My delegation, which welcomed the adoption of resolution 900 (1994), is particularly happy to note today that the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo is effectively under way and that, thanks to the determination of the international community, the inhabitants of Sarajevo, who lived through daily horror under intensive shelling, no longer feel completely alone and deprived of their right to a normal life. We ardently hope, as is reflected in our firm support for the process of settling this conflict, that this collective effort will be extended to the rest of Bosnia and all of the former Yugoslavia. We therefore welcome the momentum and dynamism generated at the political level by the various initiatives taken as part of the effort to reach a negotiated solution.

In this connection, my delegation congratulates the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Croat party on signing the cease-fire agreement. We also welcome the Washington framework agreements between the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Bosnian Croat party. We also welcome the results achieved following discussions between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serbian authorities in the United Nations protected areas, which led to the signing on 29 March 1994 of a cease-fire agreement.

We believe that the Security Council must adopt new measures to consolidate all the achievements that have resulted from the firmness of the international community. We also believe it is essential to help the parties concerned to implement the agreements they have just signed.

This new political and diplomatic landscape gives a special dimension to the challenges that must be confronted in order to sustain the process, whose fragility is illustrated by the recent escalation of hostilities by the Bosnian Serbs, particularly against the city of Maglaj. We believe that concern for the safety of the population of Maglaj should result in the Council's granting that city the legal status of a United Nations protected area. My delegation looks forward to the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General on developments in that city, and believes that the Council should not hesitate to declare it a protected area if the situation should grow worse.

The draft resolution that the Council is about to adopt enjoys the firm support of my delegation, which appreciates the fact that its text goes well beyond a simple renewal of UNPROFOR's mandate and takes into account the new parameters resulting from recent developments in the overall conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Although the draft resolution attaches particular importance, and rightly so, to the UNPROFOR operations in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the extension of the mandate applies equally to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). In addition to renewing the mandate of UNPROFOR, our decision focuses on specific steps to restore normal life to Sarajevo and on implementing other initiatives to advance the ongoing peace process in the former Yugoslavia.

There is a great deal at stake here. If UNPROFOR is to carry out its task there must be changes so that it has adequate resources. My delegation fully supports such changes in the light of the Secretary-General's proposals for increasing its personnel.

In order to meet the need for effectiveness in the cause of peace, the draft resolution, which enjoys our support, also extends to the territory of the Republic of Croatia the possibility of close air support for the defence of UNPROFOR personnel carrying out its mandate.

My delegation believes that the draft resolution, if adopted, will send a dual message, with which we are in full agreement, indicating the determination of the international community firmly to support the peace process as well as the need for the parties constantly to continue their efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the conflict.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): My delegation wishes to convey its deep appreciation to the Secretary General for his three important reports this month, which are contained in documents S/1994/291, S/1994/300 and S/1994/333. All these reports are significant, as they pertain to recent encouraging developments in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia.

The Security Council has acted promptly by taking action to consider the draft resolution, which would, *inter alia*, renew the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The Pakistan Government attaches great importance to the renewal of the mandate of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We consider this essential to the international community's efforts to minimize the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, to prevent the spread of hostilities, to provide humanitarian relief and, most important, to facilitate a negotiated solution to all aspects of the conflict. The additional authorization of troops will be extremely useful in making UNPROFOR a stronger force as it shoulders its increased responsibilities.

The Pakistan delegation is most appreciative of the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his distinguished Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, in resolving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Their efforts have led to an improved situation in and around Sarajevo, where the cease-fire is holding and normality is returning. My delegation's special appreciation goes to the men and women of UNPROFOR, and the other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations involved in the former Yugoslavia, for their dedicated and selfless service in implementing the decision of the internationai community to settle the crisis in a fair and just manner. They have acquitted themselves with distinction in dangerous and difficult circumstances.

The Pakistan Government expresses great satisfaction at the signing of the Washington framework agreement by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Bosnian Croat party. It is the sincere hope of my Government that the Bosnian Serb party will also join in this agreement so that the long-awaited and just peace will be established in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We also welcome the cease-fire agreement reached in Zagreb on 29 March 1994 between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities on the United Nations Protected Areas.

We also note with satisfaction the Secretary-General's plans for the reopening of Tuzla Airport for humanitarian purposes and for appropriate action to be taken against any party which creates obstacles in the faithful implementation of the Secretary-General's plan.

Another encouraging development is, of course, the appointment by the Secretary-General of a senior civilian official for the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo. In this connection, my delegation also commends the setting up of an Interim Coordination Body which would assist the senior officials in the drawing-up of the plan for the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo.

While these encouraging developments are taking place in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Security Council and the international community should remain vigilant and ensure not only that the excesses committed in violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are halted but that the wrongs are corrected. The aggression committed against that Government through use of force and the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing" must be permanently reversed.

My delegation remains gravely concerned at the military action still being taken by the Bosnian Serbs in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This constitutes an open defiance of the Security Council's resolutions. The situation resulting from this latest wave of military aggression is particularly visible in the towns of Maglaj and Banjaluka. The recent destruction and desecration of holy places in Banjaluka has been graphically described in the letter of the Bosnian President of 30 March 1994 addressed to the President of the Council *(S/1994/364, annex)*.

Cognizant of the deteriorating security environment in these towns, which have been subjected to strangulation and armed aggression by the Bosnian Serbs, my delegation, along with other members of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Council, strongly favoured the designation of the town of Maglaj as a safe area. This is also supported by the Secretary-General in his report, in which he states that:

> "there may be merit in extending the safe area concept to that city." (*S/1994/291, para. 22*)

To our great regret, this reasonable and urgently needed requirement did not find favour with all members of the Council. Despite this disappointment, my delegation will support the draft resolution before the Council so as to express its solidarity with the Council. We hope not only that the siege of Maglaj will be lifted, but that complete normalcy will return to that beleaguered town.

As my delegation has stated on previous occasions, the tragedy in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes one of the darkest chapters of contemporary history. The appalling apathy of the international community in responding to aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina has caused great human suffering. The brave and determined people of that beleaguered country have

remained steadfast in their resolve to face aggression and to reject any unjust dispensation under duress. The international community must therefore demonstrate its resolve to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina by taking all appropriate measures to reverse the consequences of aggression against that country. The lands seized by the use of force and "ethnic cleansing" must be returned. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be restored and respected.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): We are considering today the fifty-fifth resolution on matters related to the former Yugoslavia and we are considering it in an atmosphere very different to that to which we are accustomed. With hindsight, it appears that the world's reaction to the Sarajevo marketplace massacre on 5 February was a turning point in the war. The exhaustion of economic power and manpower, and of willpower to continue the fighting, has undermined the resolve of the belligerents and cooler heads appear to have gained the upper hand. The determination of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to support the peace process has been splendid in its results.

As a consequence, peace is breaking out. First Sarajevo experienced a respite, and how gratifying it was to see United Nations troops soundly beaten there in soccer. Then came the Washington agreements between the Bosniacs and Croats of Bosnia to forge a federation, and between those two communities and the Republic of Croatia to form a confederation.

During these encouraging past few weeks, however, the question that troubled many of us concerned the attitude of the Serbs. Was the January agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) just a flash in the pan or was it a harbinger of things to come? Now it seems that truly major progress has been accomplished in Croatia with the cease-fire between the Republic of Croatia and the Krajina Serbs. This agreement seems at first blush to be too complicated not to be meant seriously. We can only welcome the earnestness of the parties and their obvious determination. It is appropriate here to acknowledge the remarkable role played by United States and Russian diplomacy, the European Union as well as by the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi.

The rub of peace breaking out is that UNPROFOR is faced with a new situation. Let us recall that this is the largest force that the United Nations is fielding anywhere today. Even so, it has been stretched thin, as the Secretary-General never fails to remind us. It has been stretched thin to do the protection job which is a part of its name. And today it is about to be stretched even thinner as parties call on it to help implement the various cease-fires they are agreeing upon both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia.

The dynamics of peace is faster than the dynamics of troop authorization, not to speak of troop deployment. The Security Council is facing a novel pitfall: too much peace all at once. We're choking on too much peace. This idea is of course absurd, but my delegation does not understand the position of some countries which have been pushing for a peace agreement, indicating all along that they would be prepared to support it with a major troop deployment. Now, with pieces of peace at hand, they seem to be reluctant.

It is hard to imagine that these countries would have been ready to send thousands of troops if an overall peace were established today. Yet it is equally hard to imagine that these countries anticipated that an overall peace agreement would be reached in one fell swoop, rather than piecemeal, in an arena where even the casual observer detects at least seven distinct adversaries.

With just short of 1,000 men as part of UNPROFOR, the Czech Republic is making its modest contribution to peace in Croatia. Our original infantry battalion is being transformed into a mechanized infantry battalion, one company of which stands ready to be transferred to Bosnia and Herzegovina. We subscribe to the appeal of our resolution that States assist the Secretary-General in finding the resources needed to beef up UNPROFOR. And, by the way, we would also hope that Member States meet their financial obligations in this respect.

Let us salute UNPROFOR and its commanders for the marvellous job they are doing under tough and changing circumstances, pay homage to those who have sacrificed their lives and extend our best wishes for speedy recovery to those who have been injured.

One paragraph of our draft resolution urges the Republic of Croatia and Serb authorities in the regions of Krajina to reactivate their so-called Joint Commission process. The Joint Commission would logically pick up where the cease-fire agreement left off. One logical next

step includes confidence-building measures, in particular attention to communications and infrastructure.

In this context, the Adria pipeline is of especial importance, not only to the economy of Croatia, but to the economies of other countries of the region. Last summer members of the so-called Central European Initiative - then including Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia - made this point in a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council. We are delighted that our draft resolution today reiterates the importance of this pipeline, and even more delighted that the time is more propitious for its possible reopening. War has not touched it, and only political will is needed to have it operational in a couple of days.

My delegation followed with extraordinary interest the debate over declaring the area of Maglaj a safe area. This possibility was foreshadowed in Security Council resolution 900 (1994). In response, the Secretary-General averred that no fewer than 1,500 additional troops would be needed to turn Maglaj into a safe area. Frankly, this came as a surprise to us. Of the safe areas other than Sarajevo, which one is being protected by a force comparable to that wanted for Maglaj? Certainly not Srebrenica, with its 300 men, and certainly not Žepa with perhaps eight. Or, to turn the question around, how many more troops would be needed to give other safe areas the protection that the 1,500 troops would have afforded Maglaj? Experience has shown that declaring an area safe contributes, in and of itself, to its safety, whether or not it is truly safe from the military point of view.

However, my delegation came to realize that certain delegations found it impossible to make the distinction between the military view of what is safe and the political and psychological view of what it means to declare an area safe, and we therefore did not insist that Maglaj be declared a safe area. Moreover, it transpires that this city is no longer besieged and that, on the contrary, Bosnian Government troops have actually been engaged in counter-offensive moves from Maglaj.

On the other hand, my delegation has been distressed by reports, mostly in the press, concerning Banjaluka. This city which, like Sarajevo, used to be a true crossroads of ethnic groups, cultures and religions, has been firmly in the hands of ethnic Serbs for some time now, and "ethnic cleansing" apparently continues unabated there. This was again brought to our attention by President Izetbegovic in letters addressed yesterday to you, Mr. President, and to Mr. Akashi. My delegation cannot but regret that some of the energy the Council devoted to the almost moot issue of Maglaj was not spent on what appears to be an even worse situation - if only because it is taking place outside the spotlight of international attention - in Banjaluka.

This is a good time to recall that "ethnic cleansing", with all its barbaric brutality, has not stopped. As war efforts collapse in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia, the international community will be facing the difficult challenge of deciding how to rectify its abhorrent results. The time for that is not far off.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation, too, would like to thank the Secretary-General for his useful reports dated 11, 16 and 24 March and for his letter of 30 March 1994 on the situation in former Yugoslavia, especially as it relates to the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the situation in and around Sarajevo and Maglaj. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Akashi, UNPROFOR commanders and the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia for the exemplary work they have been undertaking under very difficult circumstances and severe resource constraints to implement the Council's mandate and all its many, many resolutions.

My delegation is happy to join in the consensus on the adoption of the draft resolution before us. We welcome the positive developments towards peace and cessation of hostilities that have taken place in the various theatres of war in the territory of former Yugoslavia. In a sense we can say that the victims of the market-place massacre in Sarajevo on 5 February did not really die in vain. The incident galvanized the international community and, in particular, the major players on the ground, to take bold steps in the search for peace. The momentum in the search for peace thus generated has already resulted in a cease-fire, not only in Sarajevo, but, in the last 48 hours, in the Republic of Croatia and the United Nations Protected Areas. My delegation welcomes this latest cease-fire, and we urge the parties to implement fully all the commitments they have entered into.

It is gratifying to observe that the people of Sarajevo are trying to pick up the pieces and commence once more their efforts towards the restoration of normal life. In this connection we also note with satisfaction the appointment of the senior civilian official to coordinate the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo. These significant and positive developments have been tempered

by pockets of tension and continued hostilities in some areas, particularly Maglaj. While we acknowledge the recent encouraging developments in Maglaj, we are concerned that the situation remains fluid and that it requires further actions to ensure that the people of Maglaj may begin to see some light at the end of the rather tragic tunnel. We urge UNPROFOR to consolidate its initial presence there.

In our view the international community must not be complacent. True peace can be neither established nor sustained until the people of a fellow State Member of the United Nations, Bosnia and Herzegovina, can live within secure borders and be free at last from the threat of the despicable policy of "ethnic cleansing".

What the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and UNPROFOR commanders have asked of this Council is that the necessary authority and resources be made available to them to take maximum advantage of the momentum of peace to consolidate the remarkable gains made on several fronts in recent weeks and, indeed, ensure that those gains are truly irreversible. What the Council is trying to do in the draft resolution before it is to respond as promptly as it can and within its available resources to the requests of the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, we do not seem to have fully accomplished that, at least not for the moment. My delegation understands the difficulties of certain delegations that have created this gap between rising expectations and actual fulfilment. We hope, however, that this gap is a temporary one and that when the Council revisits the issue in a month's time it will be in a position to give the Secretary-General and his field operatives the minimum requirements and the resources needed to carry out the Councils's mandate. We owe them no less.

Finally, my delegation would like to express its profound appreciation to all the Governments that have contributed, and continue to contribute, troops and personnel to UNPROFOR operations. We also call on other Governments to respond to the Secretary-General's request for more troops and more equipment. To the political leaders in the former Republic of Yugoslavia, we say that the prospects for peace have never been better. They must not allow this golden - but potentially fleeting - opportunity to slip away from them.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): Mr. President, my delegation has been aided immensely in its consideration of the multitude of events taking place in Bosnia and Croatia, and in the other areas of the former Yugoslavia, by the excellent, in-depth reports of the Secretary-General and his communications with you. We feel that they have afforded us a firm grasp of the political developments taking place on so many fronts concurrently, and of their implications for the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

We certainly welcome the manner in which peace appears to be breaking out throughout so many areas in Bosnia and Croatia. There seems to have been a general acceptance by all parties of the international community's resolve to bring this terrible tragedy to a close as soon as possible.

With the accord between the Government of Bosnia and the Bosnian Croats for a cease-fire leading to a federation, we have seen the beginning of a spreading peace process which has, if anything, gained momentum. With the establishment of a transition committee, as called for in the Bosnian-Croat agreement of 4 March 1994, the way is now open - and institutionalized - for rapid progress towards achieving federation, which will include a type of confederal association at some stage with the Republic of Croatia.

My delegation also welcomes the continuance of general peace in Sarajevo and the decline in civilian suffering there. It is also good to see the comfort measures the Secretary-General has taken for the city in appointing a Special Coordinator for public services, under the Special Representative, who can coordinate international and local efforts to restore public services to the city. This all adds up to a definite momentum, towards peace and towards a settlement in the area, that will be difficult to reverse.

The pressure being felt in all quarters to move in the direction of peace is indicated by the cease-fire between Croatia and the Bosnian Serbs in the United Nations protected areas that has been signed in Zagreb. There remain, as the draft resolution on UNPROFOR's mandate states, the need for a negotiated settlement accepted by all parties and the need further to involve the Bosnian Serb party in further efforts to achieve an overall negotiated settlement; hopefully, these developments are moving in that direction.

One serious impediment remains: the continued fighting and hostilities in a number of areas in Bosnia - Bihac, Banja Luka and particularly Maglaj, where suffering has been prolonged, unrelieved and intense. My delegation has constantly called for the designation of Maglaj as a "safe area". Addressing this point in his report of 11 March, the Secretary-General notes that the mere presence of UNPROFOR, although limited, was sufficient

to deter major attacks even in Žepa, which contained only eight unarmed military observers. It was enough of a message to all parties about our concern for civilian safety to thwart major assaults, and we feel that this would also hold true in Maglaj. The draft resolution expresses this concern to some extent, and implores the Bosnian Serbs to cease forthwith all military action against the town. We hope that they will have the good sense to do so.

The rapid sequence of accords and settlements has placed a not too unexpected strain on the resources and manpower of UNPROFOR, exacerbated by the fact that it is still functioning below authorized levels. However, my delegation hopes very strongly that the Council can respond quickly and fully to the requirements of the situation, for it is an opportunity we must not miss. There has been a debilitating loss of human life in Bosnia and Croatia, a list of human rights violations unseen in Europe since the days of the last great war and a frightening level of ethnic hostility under the guise of "ethnic cleansing".

The scope that remains for continuing the fighting is being narrowed daily, and we are, it would seem, in a good position to bring this phase to a complete halt. We must demonstrate our resolve to achieve a total cease-fire and to take the necessary steps to prevent a recurrence of any hostilities. My delegation therefore supports the renewal of UNRPOFOR's mandate, as called for in the draft resolution, and the series of other measures it outlines to protect United Nations personnel, increase the comfort level in all areas of Croatia, including the United Nations protected areas, bring about respect for the cease-fires agreed to, increase the safety and security of civilians in "safe" and "near safe" areas, and provide UNPROFOR with the resources and manpower required to implement its mandate.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 908 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): The resolution reflects real progress in the peace negotiations and on the ground. There is, we believe, a new atmosphere of optimism, albeit cautious, which now needs to be consolidated. The agreements between the Bosnian Government, the Bosnian Croat party and the Government of Croatia on federation are a significant step towards an overall settlement in Bosnia. As the resolution states, we look to the Bosnian Serb party to join in efforts now to achieve a final settlement.

The cease-fire agreements negotiated by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia have been followed by another, concluded this week in Zagreb between the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in the United Nations protected areas. These positive developments, to which many dedicated and brave people have contributed, must now be followed up, and matched by a commitment from the parties. Implementation of the confidence-building measures in the United Nations protected areas referred to in the resolution and the revival of the joint-commission process are steps which can and should now be taken quickly, paving the way for a final settlement involving autonomy for the Serbs within the existing borders of the Republic of Croatia.

We wish to pay tribute to the efforts of the United Nations - of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Akashi, and of all the personnel of UNPROFOR - and of the humanitarian and non-governmental organizations, to build on these advances. We welcome the increase in UNPROFOR's strength by a further 3,500 personnel provided for in the resolution, which will allow those additional personnel already available from Member States to be deployed immediately. We also welcome the resolution's authorization of additional personnel for the reopening of Tuzla airport for humanitarian purposes. My Government, with others, has already announced contributions of personnel and equipment for both these tasks. But further reinforcement of UNPROFOR will be needed if the cease-fires in central Bosnia and in Croatia are to be fully implemented. Tasks cannot be added indefinitely without the necessary resources' being made available, and we urge Member States to respond to this urgent need.

My Government would have been prepared to join in authorizing all the additional personnel requested by the Secretary-General in his reports of 11 and 16 March this

year. Within the coming month, the Council will need to act on the balance of these requests. Delay would put at risk not only the success of the United States, the Russian Federation and others in brokering the recent cease-fire agreements, but also the many achievements of UNPROFOR on the ground, and possibly the safety of its personnel.

The civilian population in many parts of Bosnia are just beginning to enjoy the benefits of these new conditions. They need help in rebuilding their towns, and lives. The United Nations is already engaged in vital work, in Sarajevo and elsewhere, to tackle these problems. We warmly welcome the Secretary-General's appointment of a Special Coordinator to harness efforts in Sarajevo to this end. As part of the international effort to restore normal life to Sarajevo, my Government, together with the Government of the United States, dispatched a joint civil mission to Sarajevo to assist in this work. We fully support the establishment of a voluntary trust fund to finance projects to promote the return to normal life in Sarajevo, and we hope that all members of the international community will contribute generously to this work.

The Council's action today shows that the international community is prepared to respond to the new situation reached in negotiations and on the ground. The peace process must now go forward. It will not be easy: there are difficult and sensitive issues still to be addressed, including those involving territory. But these hard-won gains must not now be thrown away, and we call upon all sides to show restraint and to demonstrate their sincerity and responsibility by negotiating a lasting peace.

Mr. Walker (United States of America): My Government has consistently supported, and continues to support, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which has been called on to provide vital missions in Bosnia, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In recent weeks there have been many encouraging developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and rapidly expanding challenges that have taxed UNPROFOR's resources to the limit. To meet those challenges, we agree with the members of the Council that UNPROFOR must have the necessary resources. The United States Government supports UNPROFOR and the exemplary way it has carried out its mandate, and supports the provision of the resources necessary to allow it to continue to do so in the new environment.

In the context of this resolution, our concern has been to ensure that the financial resources are available to sustain this vital operation. This important question has implications for my Government and, of course, for the United Nations as a whole. I know that we are not alone in trying to come to terms with how we pay for peace-keeping operations.

The resolution says that the Council will review, within one month, the question of UNPROFOR's manpower requirements. I can assure you that, during that month, my Government will be considering this question seriously and urgently. Peace-keeping is too important for the international community not to do its best to regularize the way it provides the money to support these operations.

Finally, I would like to commend the Council's authorization of close air support for UNPROFOR troops operating in the Republic of Croatia. NATO implementation will, of course, require the agreement of the North Atlantic Council, which I am confident will be forthcoming. Once in place, the availability of close air support for UNPROFOR troops in Croatia should afford them important protection as they carry out their part of UNPROFOR's vital mission.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): The quest for lasting peace in the territories of the former Yugoslavia has all too often seemed like a never-ending task. The volume and frequency of the decisions of the Security Council on the matter, and of resolutions, presidential statements and letters, are among the elements bearing witness to that.

After years of untiring efforts by the international community, however, we may well be at the threshold of a new phase in that difficult and complex enterprise. The arrangements in place regarding Sarajevo, where the situation seems to be slowly but steadily improving; the series of agreements signed between the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bosnian Croat party and the Government of Croatia; and the cease-fire agreement recently signed between the latter and the local Serb authorities in United Nations Protected Areas are all important and concrete steps that give room for a cautious yet genuine measure of hope.

We are aware that much remains to be done, including, as underlined in today's resolution, a further involvement of the Bosnian Serb party in the efforts to achieve an overall negotiated settlement. The humanitarian situation in the town of Maglaj, for instance, continues to be a matter of great concern. But there can be no doubt that the recent developments have been generally positive.

Decisions by the Governments of the United States and the Russian Federation to further their involvement in the diplomatic arena in which the United Nations and the European Union have always been, and continue to be, very active, were instrumental in the attainment of those encouraging results.

The presence of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has been of crucial importance throughout, not only minimizing the very present risks of deterioration of the situation, but also in facilitating the establishment of an environment more conducive to negotiations.

Often under very difficult circumstances, the men and women of UNPROFOR have displayed courage and determination in the fulfilment of the Force's broad mandate, and have thus played a fundamental role in laying down the foundations for peace, a goal whose achievement depends ultimately on the parties themselves.

After somewhat laborious negotiations, the Security Council has just approved unanimously the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate for a period of six months. It has also decided to authorize immediately a substantial reinforcement of the Force and to take action within a month on the additional troop requirements recommended by the Secretary-General. We welcome those decisions. The Brazilian Government is convinced that the Council must continue to do its share in the difficult pursuit of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia, and in this sense must stand ready to do all it can to provide UNPROFOR with the means required for the fulfilment of its mandate, as well as to assist the parties in the implementation of peace agreements they have freely arrived at.

Mr. Chen (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At present, the peace process in the areas where UNPROFOR is located is at a crucial juncture. As a result of the efforts of all sides, the agreements concerning a cease-fire and the withdrawal of heavy weapons between the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims and between the Croats and the Muslims have all been implemented. Not long ago, the Croats and the Muslims signed a federation agreement. Two days ago, the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in the United Nations Protected Areas signed a cease-fire agreement.

This series of developments is indeed to be welcomed. The approval by the Security Council of a further enlargement of UNPROFOR and an extension of its mandate indicate the hope of the international community that the presence of UNPROFOR will create favourable conditions for an early and comprehensive political settlement by the various parties. In this connection, we agree with the recommendations of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNPROFOR and have voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

The Chinese delegation would like to reiterate here its position on this question.

First, the parties to the conflict should earnestly implement the agreements already reached and resolve their disputes through negotiations at an early date so as to achieve peace. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as other countries concerned in the region, should be fully respected.

Secondly, it is our consistent position that conflicts should be settled by peaceful means through dialogue and negotiation. We are in favour of neither the use or the threat of force, nor the invocation of Chapter VII in the peace-keeping operations of UNPROFOR. We therefore have reservations on the invocation of Chapter VII in this resolution. At the same time, we have noted that the resolution has specified certain limitations concerning this issue.

Thirdly, with regard to the question of extending close air support to the territory of the Republic of Croatia, the Security Council should act prudently. As is repeatedly stated by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, air support should be used only to ensure the safety of UNPROFOR personnel in the performance of its mandate and for self-defence, rather than for punitive purposes with the use of excessive force. In the concrete application of such air support, the utmost care should be taken to avoid inflicting harm on innocent people.

Fourthly, in the final analysis, the settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia can be achieved only by the people of that region themselves. UNPROFOR can only play a supplementary role. The urgent task of the international community is to make every possible effort to urge the parties concerned to seek, through negotiations, an appropriate solution acceptable to all. The question of Sarajevo and other safe areas as well as that of Maglaj can be genuinely resolved only within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement.

Fifthly, we have noted that the Secretary-General mentioned in his report the difficulties faced by UNPROFOR with regard to manpower and financial resources. These difficulties need to be removed. At the same time, we are of the view that the deployment of UNPROFOR troops should be undertaken in a flexible manner, according to the degree of urgency of each specific situation. Consideration should be given both to the feasibility of new mandates and UNPROFOR's ability to accomplish the missions.

Mr. Ricardes (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The renewal of the mandate of a peace-keeping operation, in this case the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), gives the Security Council an opportunity to assess its functioning and its scope.

A new framework of agreements and a less tense situation on the ground lend a new impetus to efforts to find a peaceful solution to the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We congratulate the Government of Croatia on the cease-fire agreement signed in Zagreb on 29 March, which is also a move in the direction of a peaceful solution.

In this connection, my country agrees with the recommendation of the Secretary-General on the need to increase the personnel of UNPROFOR so that it can carry out the functions that the changing situation demands.

The decision taken today by the Security Council to increase UNPROFOR's strength by 3,500 should be seen as a temporary measure, taken in the current context of limited material and human resources for peace-keeping operations.

All these circumstances underscore the need to speed up the negotiation of a settlement accepted by all the parties.

As regards support for the collective security system provided for in the United Nations Charter, Argentina has contributed to UNPROFOR a succession of battalions, which are deployed in the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

In addition, in response to the request of the Secretary-General, we recently announced our offer of a contingent of about 150 troops to be deployed in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a team of meteorologists to help in reopening and operating the Tuzla airport.

We are convinced of the need to guarantee the security of UNPROFOR personnel. We therefore believe it appropriate that the Security Council should today have approved extending air support in defence of UNPROFOR personnel in the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

We would also take this opportunity to reiterate our appeal to the Governments of countries where peace-keeping forces are present regarding the need to carry out publicity campaigns, reaching all levels of their populations, to make known the functions and mandate of those forces, thereby avoiding antagonisms that could harm the image of the peace-keeping forces in the public's mind.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The resolution we have just approved has been adopted at a time when the process of a settlement in the former Yugoslavia has reached an extremely critical stage. We have recently witnessed several encouraging events. We have managed to unblock the situation around Sarajevo, and the rotation of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) contingent in Srebrenica has been successfully concluded. Moreover, the Washington agreements have been signed. We welcome this as a substantial link in the whole chain of international efforts to untie the Bosnian knot. On 29 March, with the mediation of Russia, the United States and the representatives of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia and the Serbian authorities in the United Nations protected areas concluded an important cease-fire agreement.

In sum, these events represent movement towards a political settlement, movement which needs not only to be maintained, but to be strengthened. An important role in performing this task must be played by UNPROFOR, whose strong and visible presence in the conflict area is, as pointed out in the resolution, essential to consolidating the progress that has been achieved.

In this connection, we are gratified by the unanimous decision of the Security Council to extend the mandate of the United Nations forces and to reinforce them with additional personnel. While favouring the continuation of the United Nations operation, Russia believes that it should be directed towards the essential purpose for which it was established, paying particular attention to the priority tasks set forth in paragraph 50 of the report of the Secretary-General of 16 March, and taking into account the need to

adopt a rational attitude towards the limited resources available to the United Nations.

We are convinced that the results achieved by UNPROFOR, albeit limited for the time being, have as never before justified the considerable efforts made by the United Nations and Member States in the quest for a political settlement. At the same time, we would like to emphasize that to a decisive extent progress depends on the political will of the parties; the United Nations forces can only assist in establishing peace, which cannot be achieved without active participation by the parties involved. That is why we believe it is extremely important for the resolution to have included an appeal to the parties to seize the opportunity provided by UNPROFOR's continuation to bring the peace process to a successful conclusion.

As the situation has developed in the conflict area, the United Nations has been faced with new tasks. It is our firm belief that at the present time all these should be performed strictly in accordance with, and in the framework of, the existing mandate of UNPROFOR. If, however, it is felt necessary either to amend or expand the mandate, this will require an additional decision to be taken by the Security Council.

The Russian Federation attaches particular importance to matters connected with the safety of United Nations personnel deployed within the States of the former Yugoslavia. We vigorously condemn any attacks or provocations against the personnel of UNPROFOR or of international humanitarian organizations, and demand that they be stopped everywhere.

Close air support has therefore been extended to the territory of Croatia in order to defend UNPROFOR personnel in the performance of their duties. At the same time, I should like to stress that the Russian Federation supports the search for ways and means of achieving maximum cooperation between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, because we believe that deploying air forces in support of United Nations personnel should be carried out, as indicated in the relevant resolutions:

> "under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR". (*S/1994/359, para. 8*)

It is now important for States Members of the United Nations to respond promptly to the Security Council's appeal for reinforcements for UNPROFOR. In this connection, I should like to point out that, for its part, Russia has decided to assign 300 additional servicemen to UNPROFOR, 100 of whom have already arrived in Sarajevo as reinforcements for the Russian contingent already deployed there.

In connection with the plan approved today to reopen the Tuzla Airport for humanitarian purposes, Russia is prepared to send civilian observers to help secure the functioning of the Airport and to provide part of the necessary technology and personnel to service it.

The Russian Federation believes that the joint efforts of all States concerned will make it possible duly to strengthen UNPROFOR's potential, which will certainly play a positive role in the progress towards a comprehensive peace settlement in the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): Renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) gives us the opportunity to evaluate the progress which this very important operation has made since we last renewed the mandate six months ago and to specify the tasks we wish UNPROFOR to perform in the next mandate period.

This Council has agreed that the mandate should be extended for a further six months. My delegation has supported this resolution, but not without some reservations. One of these related to the situation in Maglaj. We would have preferred to see that town designated as a safe area.

Six months ago, the situation in the Republics of Croatia and of Bosnia and Herzegovina seemed to be at a most distressing stalemate. Efforts in both countries to construct political arrangements acceptable to all the parties seemed to be at a dead end. Stagnation in the political process and, in the field, ongoing violence and war seemed the only future.

Today, the outlook is significantly more optimistic. The willingness of the United Nations and the international community to persist with efforts to bring peace to these Republics, despite the unfavourable environment, has begun to yield fruit. There has been a substantial and very significant reduction of conflict in Bosnia. In many areas, and most particularly in Sarajevo, citizens can again begin to resume the routines of daily life, which have been so long interrupted. The Bosnian Government has reached an accord with the Bosnian Croat party, and the federation so created has entered into a confederal arrangement with

Croatia. And in Croatia, the Government of that country and the Krajina Serbs have agreed to a cease-fire with detailed implementation provisions. We very much welcome these developments. We now look to the Bosnian Serb party for similar progress on political and territorial arrangements in Bosnia and for an immediate cessation of "ethnic cleansing" and the destruction of civil and religious objects.

It is worthwhile recalling that this progress flowed from the decision of the United Nations to activate the authority conferred in Security Council resolution 836 (1993) to use airpower in defence of UNPROFOR's mandate. It is the view of my delegation that the appropriate and measured willingness to use force in Bosnia was essential if the fundamental inequities in the situation were to be redressed. In this regard, my delegation supports the decision contained in this resolution to extend close air support to UNPROFOR in Croatia.

My delegation also acknowledges the very valuable efforts which have been made by the Governments of the United States and the Russian Federation, as well as by the European Union, to build a structure of peace on this foundation. These developments have necessarily had an impact on UNPROFOR's role. The Secretary-General has provided us with his estimate of the requirements which will need to be met if UNPROFOR is to be able to discharge all the tasks which these new agreements envisage. New Zealand supports the strengthening of UNPROFOR for these purposes and we are prepared to support authorizing an increase in the establishment of UNPROFOR accordingly.

The United Nations has reached the point at which UNPROFOR must be able to respond positively and with a visible military presence in order to oversee the political and military provisions of these agreements. We must not risk losing the benefits of what has been achieved through an inability or unwillingness to commit ourselves to these additional resources.

It is for this reason that my delegation was concerned to learn yesterday that it was not yet possible to take a decision on the full increase necessary for UNPROFOR. This issue has been before us very plainly for a number of weeks. It was implicit in the earlier decisions of the international community and members of this Council that a significant increment in the resources of UNPROFOR would be required at the time of the renewal of the UNPROFOR mandate. To fail to respond to this challenge is to say to those in Bosnia and Croatia who have pledged themselves to peaceful progress that the price of peace may be too much. What it says to those in the former Yugoslavia who still prefer to advance their objectives by war gives my delegation even greater concern. We certainly hope that the Council will be able to act very soon on the outstanding authorizations which are required.

Ongoing uncertainty places UNPROFOR itself in a very difficult position. It is necessary that we review major operations such as UNPROFOR at regular intervals, but in so doing we should seek to minimize the degree of uncertainty for the operation. UNPROFOR should be able to operate in the reasonable expectation that the Security Council will not set it up only to undermine it at a moment's notice. Uncertainty does not assist responsible and prudent financial management of peace-keeping operations. UNPROFOR deserves better of us and we deserve better of ourselves.

The President *(interpretation from French):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of France.

For several weeks now, we have seen ever more signs of hope for a peaceful solution in the former Yugoslavia. The siege of Sarajevo has been lifted thanks to the resolve of the international community, which seems to have generated encouraging momentum. This event may prove to have been a turning-point.

The Serbian party has come to understand that its policy of force and *fait accompli* was a dead end. Essential players decided to become involved in the search for a political settlement, in particular the United States. The Russian Federation was persuaded to play a decisive role on the ground in Sarajevo and contributed even more actively to the diplomatic process. Although this joint pressure by the international community as a whole was welcome, the European Union, unfortunately, was very much alone for many long months in seeking a solution.

The need for a concerted approach is confirmed by recent achievements: the beginning of a return to normal life in Sarajevo, the reopening of the Tuzla airport, the signing of the Washington agreements and, finally, the cease-fire agreement between Croats and Serbs in the United Nations protected areas. Now more than ever, resolute action by our Council is needed to help this progress.

We therefore welcome the adoption of resolution 908 (1994), which supports the principle behind the

Secretary-General's proposals and also makes it possible for the Secretariat to meet the immediate needs, which he has set at 3,500 men. We are particularly pleased by the latest changes to the text, made this morning, which unambiguously strengthen the Council's commitment to approve later all the reinforcements requested by the Secretary-General for both Bosnia and Croatia. It is now clear that by the end of April the authorized strength of UNPROFOR will increase by 10,050, in accordance with the wishes of the Secretary-General.

Our actions must now proceed in two directions. We must consolidate what has been achieved on the ground, with UNPROFOR backing, wherever necessary, the parties' will to make peace. In this regard, my Government would like to issue a warning: UNPROFOR can never be used to protect territorial gains, just as negotiated disengagements can never be used for military advances.

On the diplomatic level, we shall soon have to resume discussions on what has been the main focus of the negotiations for several months now: after the institutional arrangements come the territorial questions. In this respect, the European Union's plan seems to us to still be the only basis for a possible agreement.

In conclusion, I should like to recall my Government's unwavering commitment to find a solution in the former Yugoslavia, whether through our participation in UNPROFOR or through the role we intend to play within the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3357

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3357th Meeting

Thursday, 31 March 1994, 7.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Ricardes
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Walker

Agenda

Note by the Secretary-General (S/1994/254)

Note by the Secretary-General (S/1994/322)

94-85402 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 7.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Note by the Secretary-General (S/1994/254)

Note by the Secretary-General (S/1994/322)

The President *(interpretation from French):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Japan and the Republic of Korea in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, His Excellency Mr. Han Sung-Joo.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Han Sung-Joo (Republic of Korea) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Hatano (Japan) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them documents S/1994/254 and S/1994/322 containing the notes by the Secretary-General dated 4 and 22 March 1994, respectively, transmitting the letters dated 1 and 21 March, respectively, from the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/204 and S/1994/358, letters dated 21 February and 29 March 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/1994/319, S/1994/327, S/1994/337 and S/1994/344, letters dated 21, 22, 24 and 25 March 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/340, letter dated 24 March 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council recalls the statement made by the President of the Council on 8 April 1993 (S/25562) and its relevant resolution.

"The Council reaffirms the critical importance of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards in the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (the Treaty) and the contribution which progress in non-proliferation makes to the maintenance of international peace and security.

"The Council notes with deep appreciation the efforts of the Director General of the IAEA and the Agency to implement the IAEA-Democratic People's Republic of Korea safeguards agreement (INFCIRC/403).

"The Council reaffirms the importance of the joint declaration by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and of the parties to the declaration addressing the nuclear issue in their continuing dialogue.

"The Council welcomes the joint statement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of 11 June 1993, which included the decision of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to suspend the effectuation of its withdrawal from the Treaty, and the understanding reached between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States in Geneva in July 1993, and the progress achieved on that basis.

"The Council welcomes also the agreements reached in February 1994 between the IAEA and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

"The Council takes note that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has accepted in principle IAEA inspections at its seven declared sites, following its decision to suspend its withdrawal from the Treaty on 11 June 1993, and of the statement by the General Department of Atomic Energy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (S/1994/319).

"The Council takes note also of the findings of the IAEA Board of Governors concerning the matter of compliance and the IAEA Director General's report to the Security Council of 22 March 1994 (S/1994/322), and expresses its concern that the IAEA is, therefore, unable to draw conclusions as to whether there has been either diversion of nuclear material or reprocessing or other operations.

"The Council calls upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to allow the IAEA inspectors to complete the inspection activities agreed between IAEA and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 15 February 1994, as a step in fulfilling its obligations under the IAEA-Democratic People's Republic of Korea safeguards agreement and in honouring non-proliferation obligations of the Treaty.

"The Council invites the Director General of the IAEA to report further to the Security Council on the question of completion of the inspection activities agreed between the IAEA and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 15 February 1994 when the Director-General is scheduled to report on the follow-on inspections required to maintain continuity of safeguards and to verify that there has been no diversion of nuclear material required to be safeguarded, as noted in the Director General's report to the Council (S/1994/322).

"The Council requests the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to renew discussions whose purpose is implementation of the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

"The Council appeals to those Member States engaged in dialogue with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to continue that dialogue in accordance with the agreement reached on 25 February 1994.

"The Council decides to remain actively seized of the matter and that further Security Council consideration will take place if necessary in order to achieve full implementation of the IAEA-Democratic People's Republic of Korea safeguards agreement."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/13.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.